

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-21) (7-2) DATE: 6/25/56  
 FROM : SA [redacted]  
 SUBJECT: MORNING FREIHEIT  
 IS-C

SOURCE [redacted]  
 (Protect by T symbol)

RELIABILITY Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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 b7C  
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DATE OF ACTIVITY 5/5/56

DATE RECEIVED 5/11/56

RECEIVED BY SA [redacted]

LOCATION [redacted]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on the 34th Anniversary celebration of the Morning Freiheit which took place at Carnegie Hall, NY, on 5/5/56.

- 1- [redacted] (P & C) (7-4)
- 1-NY 100-80635 (CP, USA JEWISH ACTIVITIES) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-81675 (CP, USA PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-73516 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1-NY 100-79717 (CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-7918 (P. NOVICK) (20-10)
- 1-NY 100-20 (MORRIS SCHAPPES) (12-16)
- 1-NY 100-82062 (JEWISH LIFE) (7-2)
- 1-NY 100-88297 (CP, USA CULTURAL ACTIVITY) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-86624 (CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-74560 (CP, USA FUNDS) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (7-6)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (7-6)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (7-6)
- 1-NY 100-119331 [redacted] (7-5)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (7-6)

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APH APH:PF (18)  
 wee

100-95583-301

SEARCHED INDEXED  
 SERIALIZED FILED  
 JUN 28 1956  
 FBI - NEW YORK

[Handwritten initials and signatures]

MEMO  
NY 100-21

The "Daily Worker" of 12/9/46, page 7, Column 1,  
in an editorial referred to the "Morning Freiheit" as  
the Jewish language Communist paper.

COPY

May 9, 1956  
New York

Report Communist Party U.S.A.  
Activities

re: 34th anniversary celebration of the Jewish Communist  
daily "Morning Freiheit."

About 2,500 Jewish Communists, members of left-wing mass organizations and trade unions came to the celebration of the 34th anniversary of the Jewish Communist daily the Morning Freiheit, which took place at Carnegie Hall, in N.Y. on May 5th, 1956.

The [redacted] of the evening was [redacted] of the Morning Freiheit. [redacted] opened the meeting with a speech in which he underlined "the important role" the Morning Freiheit is playing in the advancement of the Jewish progressive culture in the United States. He also spoke against the Walter-McCarran law which is being used by reaction "as a weapon in the persecution of the Morning Freiheit editor (P. Novick) and his co-workers" and also against the newspaper.

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Morris Schappes greeted the Morning Freiheit in the name of the Communist monthly "Jewish Life."

Schappes called upon the people "to strenghten the positions of the Jewish progressive clulture in America" and he called upon the people "to strenghten the struggle for world peace and for peace in the middle East."

The main speaker, P. Novick, spoke on Israel and the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

P. Novick underlined that "the greatest Jew of our time, Albert Einstein said that Israel must stay neutral between the East and West." He declared that Israel has a right to get arms from the East and the West for defense but he came out for the plan of the English government and the

*att 1 to 100-95583-301*

Soviet leaders Khrushchev and Bulganin to embargo the sale and shipment of arms to the middle East. Novick said that "we must demand that the Big Four or the U.N. should call a conference between the Arab States and Israel for the purpose of establishing a long-lasting peace in the Middle East."

Talking about the 20th congress of the C.P.S.U.. P. Novick said that "the 20th congress of the Soviet Communist party unveiled a picture of eternal peace. For the first time in the history humanity got the opportunity to abolish war and to live in eternal peace."

He spoke about the destruction of the Jewish culture in the Soviet Union " during the last years of Stalin" and that this came about because "during the last years Stalin abolished collective leadership and this gave the chance to the conter-revolutionary band of Berà to commit crimes against Socialist Justice." Novick stated that the Jewish progressive movement has a right to know all the details of what has happened to the Jewish culture in the Soviet Union and what steps were taken to punish the guilty and he voiced his believe that those who were guilty for "thiç crime against Socialism" were allready punished and that the Soviet allready started "thē rehabilitation of Soviet Jewish writer and a rebuilding of the Jewish culture."

Novick underlined that "millions of Jews would have perished if the counter-revolutionary gangs have succeeded in their atempes to destroy Socialism in the Soviet Union. But Socialism on and on its own free will exposed the injustice made possible under the cult of the individual."

COPY

Novick tried his best to impress upon the people "the fact" that because of "the politic of the Soviet government over 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  million of Soviet Jew and 400,000 Polish Jews were saved from destruction by the Hitler Nazi during the last war. This we shall never forget." P. Novick concluded his speech with a call to build the Jewish progressive organizations in America and to build the Morning Freiheit. [redacted] made an appeal for funds for the \$200,000 fund drive of the Morning Freiheit. The collection brought in about \$1,200. The entertainment program consisted of: Singing of compositions of Shostakowitch based on Jewish Folk songs by [redacted] and [redacted] the Jewish people Philharmonic Chorus under the leadership of [redacted] sang on "Oraforio" - "Two Brothers" with [redacted] and [redacted] as soloists. The chorus also sung the Star Spangled Banner and Jewish and negro songs.

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J. MORRIS

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 6/25/56

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) (20-10)

FROM : SA [redacted] (7-4)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT # 2  
 NY DIV., BRONX COUNTY  
 IS-C

SOURCE: [redacted] (Protect by T symbol)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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DATE OF ACTIVITY: 5/3/56.

DATE RECEIVED: 5/9/56.

RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

LOCATION: [redacted]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

- 1 [redacted] (P & C) (7-4)
- 1-100-26603-C320 (KINGSBRIDGE SECTION) (20-10)
- 1-100- [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-7767 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-120276 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-75418 (SAM COHEN (20-10)
- 1-100-123930-1 [redacted] LNU) (20-10)
- 1-100-26018 (LOU WEINSTOCK (20-10)
- 1-100-319 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-8522 (COMINFIL ALP) (7-2)
- 1-100-4931 (CP, USA) (12-14)
- 1-100-107111 (NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN ROSENBERG CASE) (7-2)
- 1-100-128869 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100- [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-79717 (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (12-14)
- 1-100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (12-14)
- 1-100-25880 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-93810 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-127758 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-100-83920 (COMINFIL ADA) (7-2)

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SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEX \_\_\_\_\_  
 SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
 JUN 27 1956  
 FBI - NEW YORK

100-95583-302

APH:PF  
(21)

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C40

The informants reported on a meeting of the Kingsbridge Club of the North West Section of Bronx County CP held on 5/3/56 at the apartment of [redacted] [redacted] Bronx, New York.

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COPY

May 7, 1956  
New York

Report Communist Party U.S.A.  
Activities

A meeting of the Kingbridge Club of the C.P. of the North-West Section of the Bronx was held on May 3rd, 1956 at the apartment of [redacted] Bronx, N.Y.

The following members were present at this meeting:

[redacted] and [redacted] Sam Cohen, [redacted] and [redacted] the Club organizer .

[redacted] chaired the meeting.

[redacted] told the meeting that there will be a birthday dinner for Lou Weinstock on May 12th, 1956 (\$2.50 per person) at the Hungarian Hall at Southern Blvd., Bronx, N.Y. [redacted] asked the members present at this meeting to attend the Weinstock dinner.

[redacted] organizer of the North-West Section, Bronx C.P., asked the members of the Kingsbridge C.P. Club to attend a special meeting of the North-West Section C.P. on May 11th, 1956 which will be held at the Balnbridge headquarters of the A.L.P. At this meeting [redacted] will lead a discussion on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

[redacted] reminded the members of the Club members about the [redacted] meeting which will be held on May 15th at Carnegie Hall in N.Y. She asked everyone to concentrate on mobilizing people for this meeting. She said that [redacted]'s mother, [redacted], is expected to return to N.Y. on May 8th from a 3-month tour of England, France and Italy and that [redacted] will be one of the speakers at the May 15th meeting at Carnegie Hall.

[redacted] reported that he had an assignment to try to register [redacted] of [redacted], Bronx, [redacted]. "She refused to reregister at the last party registration. After weeks of trying to see I got an hold on her last week. She definitely refused to register. She is scared and seems to be confused. I believe that she is altogether a mental case. I think she should be dropped."

*att 1 to no 95583-302*



The question of "dropping her" was left open -  
"to be discussed at some later meeting."

[ ] made a few remarks about "activizing" the unactive members of the club and that "I believe that the time has come to start thinking in terms of recruiting new members for the party." He based his opinion on the "new political atmosphere in the country; important decisions of the Supreme Court (U.S.) on civil rights; on the Nelson case and on the case of the Communist Party and - the people stopped to be afraid of the F.B.I."

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There was no discussion on [ ]'s proposal. [ ] led a discussion on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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[ ] told the meeting that on April 27th, 1956 there was a meeting in her house [ ] Bronx, N.Y. [ ] at which [ ] (Bronx County organizer C.P.) led a discussion on the 20th Congress CP.S.U. She said that to this meeting were invited C.P. members who, because of their activities in certain mass organizations, cannot participate openly in party work.

On a question if [ ] and [ ] (they are assigned by the C.P. to work in the ADA) were at this meeting. [ ] said that they were.

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[ ] said that her discussion on the 20th Congress is based on the discussion which was held in her house on April 27th. The points she made in her discussion consisted of:

"The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. reaffirmed the wisdom of the Leninist collective leadership.

"The main feature of our era is the emergence of Socialism from a single country and its transformation into a world system.

"The great expansion in the national economy of the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Socialist countries.

"Capitalist economy leads to anarchy of production and economic crises. - Crises are inherent in the very nature of capitalism; they are inevitable.

COPY

"The Bolshevick Revolution struck a most powerful blow at the imperialist colonial system.

"Stalin led the Soviet Union into Socialism; the Central Committee C.P.S.U. is leading the S. U. into Communism.

"The Communist parties in the capitalist countries have proved to be the most active fighters against the war danger and reaction. They have endured many hardships in recent years but they have withstood these trials with credit.

"The dissolution was a concession on which the Communist world could very well afford.

"Of exceptional great importance today is unity of the working class; unity of the trade unions; unity of Communists and Socialists.

"The future of Socialism in this country (U.S.) and in the world is assured because it is supported by the working class of the whole world.

"Because of the late our there was no discussion on the subjects touched upon by [redacted]. It was decided to continue the discussions at the next meeting which will be held on May 17th, 1956 at the apartment of [redacted] [redacted], Bronx, N. Y.

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J. Morris.

WJW  
7/16

SAC, NEW YORK (100-7518) (7-2)

6/28/56

SA [redacted]

NCASF  
IS - C

Source:  
Reliability:

[redacted] (Protect by T symbol)  
Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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Date of Activity:

Details of speech made by ANNA LOUISE STRONG at Pythian Hall on 6/12/56.

Date Received:

6/19/56

Received by:

SA [redacted]

Location:

134-81 Serial 455

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

Attached hereto is a report dated June 16, 1956, furnished by [redacted] on June 19, 1956. The report covers the speech made by ANNA LOUISE STRONG at a meeting held at the Pythian Hall on June 12, 1956, under the sponsorship of NCASF.

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The NCASF has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- 1 [redacted] (7-4)
- 1 NY (100-16976) (ANNA LOUISE STRONG) (7-5)
- 1 NY (100-4931) (CP, USA) (12-14)
- 1 NY (100-26603) (CP District #2) (12-14)
- 1 NY (100-95583) (CP Line)
- 1 NY (100-80640) (CP, USA, Negro Question)

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JPH:jlv  
(7)

100-95583-303  
SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
JUN 29 1956  
FBI - NEW YORK  
[Handwritten signature]

C O P Y

New York City  
June 16, 1956

Anna Louise Strong

Anna Louise Strong gave a speech on the recent Khrushchev speech about Premier Stalin. This speech was held on Tuesday June 12, 1956 at the Pythian Hall on West 70th Street in New York City at 8:00 PM to an overflow audience. About 800 to 900 persons were in the Hall, and an additional 100 persons were on the streets attempting to get in, the admission was one dollar.

Miss Anna L. Strong stated that the shift today is from Colonialism to Socialism, but must be under Collective Control. India & Egypt, feudalism has been abolished. These basic changes are coming fast. Power shift today is toward the people of Asia and Africa. Socialism in the World today comprises 1/3 of the nations, and still advancing. The colored peoples of the world are moving forward and she hope that they will give the white people of the world equal treatment which we denied them. U.S.A. approval of the world injury changes of World peace. Big war, little war, are out in the USSR policy. The general condition in USSR is a power shift, from Imperial nations to the Colonial peoples of the world. This is a shift from white people to the colored peoples of the world. The U.S. gave Eisenhower power to make war on China, this is a form of one man rule and power. One man power can go wrong. The USSR is not only nation having one man rule (Stalin) but U.S.A. had same under Eisenhower. U.S.S.R. stopped Hitler in there gallant stand at Italingrad, against Nazism, for this the world is indebted to Stalin, and history shall record it as such. 1/3 of the World is in the socialist bloc for the enrichment of the future of the world. The basic principle of building Socialism is the prevention of wars. Capitalism produces war, non capitalism section of the world can prevent wars. Roads into socialism doesn't bring civil wars & uprisings, it brings peoples democracy. State Dept. of U.S. utilize the personal scandal of Stalin. Strong points of U.S.S.R. shows output of industry has

C O P Y

att 1 to 100-95573-303

increased 20 times since 1928. The Stalin period built a strong socialist and economic state. There were a great many obusives, errors, lack & crimes, but the U.S.S.R. went ahead to achieve.

The secret police had power to arrest and prosecute political enemies. This method gives back to the Czar, Lenin, and Terrorrests. Stalin used this power to eliminate his enemies. They committed many injustices. Slaten was a personal dictator, and used torture and other methods to secure confessions. The most important thing of the U.S.S.R. is not the faults and crimes & errors, the most important fact, is that Stalin era, withstood Hitler & his on blaight and the liberation of the Colonial peoples of the world.

(Chubby)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)#20-10 DATE: 6/28/56

FROM: [redacted] SA (#7-4)

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2  
BRONX COUNTY  
IS - C

SOURCE: [redacted] (Protect by T symbol)

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RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 5/17/56

DATE RECEIVED: 5/23/56

RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

LOCATION: [redacted]

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

The informant reported on a meeting of the CP club of the NW Section of the Bronx County held on 5/17/56 at the apartment of [redacted], Bronx, N.Y.

- 1 - [redacted] (P & C) (#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-120276 ([redacted]) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-7767 ([redacted]) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-89402 ([redacted] LNU) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-121626-2 ([redacted] LNU) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-83432 (STANLEY LEVINE) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-75418 (SAM COHEN) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-123930-1 ([redacted] LNU) (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-102698 ([redacted] LNU) (W; M; Husband of [redacted] LNU; resides [redacted] Bronx, [redacted] [redacted] tel CY 5-7012, CP functionary) (20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-7629 (NAACP) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-95240 (#LYL) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#7-5)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (#12-14)

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APH:DMO  
(14)  
[handwritten initials]

100-95583-304

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 2 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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COPY

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.

May 19, 1956  
New York.

Activities.

A meeting of the Communist Club of the North-West Section of the Communist Party, Bronx, N.Y. was held on May 17th, 1956, at the apartment of [redacted] [redacted] Bronx, N.Y.

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The following members of the Club were present at this meeting:

Sam Cohen, [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted].

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[redacted] the Club organizer, resides at [redacted] [redacted], Bronx, N.Y., [redacted] - ground floor. Phone No. CY 5-7012. Her husband's name is [redacted]. He is "a party functionary, not in this section" - [redacted] told me.)

The [redacted] of the meeting was [redacted].

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[redacted] reported to the meeting that at the last meeting of the club organizers of the North-West Section (Bronx) which took place on May 14, 1956 the section proposed that the Club organizers should ask the members of the clubs to participate in the following activities on the basis of "united front actions":

1. To participate in the meeting of the NAACP on May 19th, 1956 at the Woodstock Lodge (in the Bronx).

2. To mobilize the members of the clubs for the May 24th meeting on Civil Rights at Madison Sq. garden in N.Y.C.

3. To attend the affair of the teenage division of the L.Y.L. on May 25th at the Yugoslav Hall in New York - "a big turn-out of older comrades will serve the purpose of encouraging the Youth in their activities. It will be a kind of moral support to the Youth" - said [redacted].

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*att 100-95583-304*

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4. To attend the Dennis-Thomas debate at Carnegie Hall on May 27th. [ ] said that the "State Committee (N.Y.) of the party (Comm.) considers the May 27th debate an important united front action and would like to see a big party turn-out."

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There were no discussions on the above suggestions.

The chairman expressed his believe that the members will attend the above mentioned meetings and especialy the Dennis-Thomas debate.

[ ] organizer of the North-West Section of the Bronx C.P., led a discussion on "Forms of transition to Socialism in different countries" based on "Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U."

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[ ] quoted Lenin on the question of transition to Socialism: "All nations will arive at Socialism but not all will do so in exactly the same way." [ ] underlined that "Marxists are certain of the victory of Communism: the Socialist mode of production possesses great advantages over the capitalist mode of production and because of this the ideas of Marxism - Leninism are more and more capturing the minds of the masses in the capitalist countries." She stated that "there is a possibility of achieving Socialism in our country by peacefull, parliamentary means if the capitalist class will refrain from organizing a counter-revolution. The Bolshevick revolution took a course of violence only because Russian and international capitalism organized armed resistance, intervention and civil war. Leninism teaches us that the use of violence or the non-use of violence in the transition to socialism depends entirely on the resistance of the capitalist class than on the revolution."

[ ] stated that "our (U.S.A.) communist party has been thinking in terms of peacefull, constitutional transition to Socialism for many years. But if we are to translate our thinking into action our party must become a big mass party and the leading party of the American working class."

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She underlined that "although the U.S. is the strongest capitalist country in the world today, the American

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government which speaks for and represents American capitalism, is afraid of our communist party - in spite of the fact that our party is only a small political party. Why is the government afraid of our party? and why is the government of the strongest capitalist country in the world trying to destroy our Communist Party? The answer to these questions is that since the first Socialist revolution many changes took place in the world situation. There are today over 900 million people under Socialism and the forces of socialism and democracy is growing stronger by the hour and capitalism is getting weaker and it wouldn't be long, and they know it, when American capitalism will be surrounded by a socialist world. A strong Communist Party here will hasten the doom of U.S. capitalism and this is the real reason why they are trying to destroy us."

underlined that there is a great possibility that "in a few short years France, Italy, Germany, etc. will go socialist and when this will happen there is a good chance that American capitalism will give up without a struggle because it will be impossible for one capitalist country to live in a socialist world and in this case we can look forward to a peacefull transition to socialism in this country."

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"When we talk of peacefull transition to socialism we do not take the position of reformists or present day socialists. As Communists we do not give up the idea of class struggle. The transition to socialism is in itself a revolutionary act. While we believe in the possibility of a peacefull transition to socialism we also know that capitalism might put up a strong armed resistance. In this case the transition to Socialism will take the form of a revolutionary class struggle and the decisive factor in this struggle will be the vanguard leader of the working class, the Communist Party. Either way be it a peacefull or a revolutionary transition to Socialism we must have a strong Communist Party to lead us."

She concluded with: "our main aim should be the building of a large mass Communist party in our country. We must recognize the fact that we can not stand isolated from the masses. Whereever there is a trade union or a mass organization we, as communists, must be there to teach and make the masses socialist-concious and lead our people to a

COPY

COPY

world of peace and socialism."

I copied the above from [ ] own notes.

Because of the late hour there was no discussion on [ ]'s talk.

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It was decided to hold the next meeting of the club on May 31st, 1956 at [ ]'s [ ], Bronx, N.Y.

--- J. Morris.

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7/16

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603 C1214) DATE: 7/10/56  
FROM : SA JAMES J. JOHNSTON (#12-16)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
District #2, Harlem Region  
IS-C

Source: NY 1660-S\*  
(conceal and paraphrase)  
Characterization: Who was in a position to  
furnish reliable information  
Date Received: 6/21/56  
Date of Activity: 6/21/56

NY 1660-S\* on 6/21/56, furnished information which indicated that [redacted] contacted [redacted] at which time [redacted] inquired concerning how things went the other night. [redacted] indicated that BEN (DAVIS, JR.) was there and that the meeting was disgraceful. [redacted] indicated that BEN was attacked because his voice was too loud and referred to [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) and indicated that [redacted] apparently used the same tactics against [redacted].

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- 1-NY 100-9308 ([redacted]) (12-16)
- 1-NY 100-50804 ([redacted]) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (19)
- 1-NY 100-23290 ([redacted]) (19)
- 1-NY 100-103973 ([redacted]) (12-16)
- 1-NY 100-34465 ([redacted]) (12-16)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (19)
- 1-NY 100-26603 C42 (CP, USA, NY COUNTY) (19)
- 1-NY 100-26603 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2) (19)
- 1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (19)
- 1-NY 100-80640 (CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION) (19)
- 1-NY 100-63755 ([redacted]) (20-11)
- 1-NY 100-22066 ([redacted]) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (19)
- 1-NY 100- ([redacted]) (20-11)
- 1-NY 100-24448 (LIL GATES) (20-10)

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JJJ:cat  
(17)

100 95583-305

SEARCHED <i>[initials]</i>	INDEXED <i>[initials]</i>
SERIALIZED <i>[initials]</i>	FILED <i>[initials]</i>
JUL 10 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

MEMO

NY 100-26603 C1214

[ ] indicated that the Board (believed to refer to the State Board meeting held 6/20/56) had a meeting the previous day which lasted into the evening. [ ] described this meeting as a "rip roaring session" and stated that he had to leave at about 12 (midnight).

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[ ] inquired if [ ] believed to be [ ] had been supported and [ ] stated that he had with one or two reservations. [ ] stated that a motion had been adopted and that a statement was being drafted and that there was insistence on making this letter public to the membership. [ ] said the statement, expressing their differences with the article on Monday, was proposed to be made public together with a whole series of measures along this line. [ ] added that there was an insistence proposed that the questions relating to these problems be taken up at the week-end meeting.

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[ ] said that [ ] (believed to be [ ] [ ] was the only one from upstairs who took extensive notes and [ ] felt that [ ] would report on the whole thing at the week-end meeting. [ ] added that there was general agreement that one of the big problems stems from "pussy footing" that has taken place over the past years on the question of line and that this had to be stopped. [ ] added that people from the out-of-town districts had been coming in and indicating derogatory statements concerning NY leadership. [ ] added that this premise had been projected and that there was insistence that if "they" were going to be leaders, they had to lead.

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[ ] inquired what had been decided on the "full timers deal" (believed to refer to the current controversy concerning full time CP paid Functionaries).

MEMO

NY 100-26603 C1214

[ ] indicated that this matter had not been discussed and that such discussion would take place after other questions had been resolved.

[ ] stated that BEN had spoken on the Harlem meeting, what it meant and what had happened there and indicated that he, [ ] has a feeling that as far as the State is concerned, the National (CP leadership) on this week-end may not be able to discuss the things [ ] and [ ] had hoped for in the light of the previous night's meeting.

b6  
b7C

[ ] added that he had raised the question the previous evening that he could not see how they could make a report on the Negro question until they had resolved certain questions in line. [ ] said that there was an agreement with the premise. [ ] added that he and BEN had spoken the previous evening in the name of the Manhattan staff and [ ] said that BEN had indicated that Manhattan generally agreed with some of the questions that were being dealt with but that he, BEN, could not speak formally for the Comrades.

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[ ] stated that she wished they had discussed the other question since she is getting impatient (believed to refer again to the full time paid Functionaries controversy). [ ] indicated that she wanted to get out. [ ] stated that [ ] (believed to be [ ]) and [ ] (believed to be [ ]) did also and that they had raised the question the previous night and that this question had been in the minds of a number of others. [ ] said that for the first time unspoken thoughts had been articulated the previous evening in the sense that several people have spoken for the first time in 20 or 25 years

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MEMO

NY 100-26603 C1214

and that the thought had entered their minds that in may be two years they would not be in the organization (believed to refer to the recent CP proposal that the Party be desolved. That leftist organizations be formulated to carry on its work ).

[ ] said that one of their best "R.O.'s" (believed to be Regional Organizer) had had a talk with her two nights ago. [ ] stated that he had meant to tell [ ] that the proposal was made that either the following week's meeting should be postponed or that they should have another meeting with GENE (believed to be EUGENE DENNIS) for discussion and that he, GENE, had to change his views before he goes into that meeting. [ ] said that either this would take place or that he and others would take the floor and present a different point of view in the name of the State.

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[ ] asked if [ ] was going to be "there" that evening. [ ] indicated that he was not going and was going to ask [ ]. [ ] stated that she did not want to be in a discussion where the person who led the organization is carrying on a wrong line.

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[ ] stated that [ ] is inciting for the role of the left organization and that she is just sick of this nonsense. She said that she is not going to participate in that kind of thing and added that she could not go anyway because she was sick of the "phoniness."

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[ ] said that the RO had told her that he was unable to fight because he was between [ ] and the "Left people" and was unable to find himself in between.

MEMO

NY 100-26603 C1214

[ ] said that the proposal that these organizations should be organized and which were described as good were to be brought up that evening. [ ] indicated that he felt that that meeting would be a holding meeting and doubted if anything of significance would be resolved. [ ] stated that she felt that the Leftists would just go ahead and [ ] agreed.

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[ ] added that he had meant to tell her the previous day that a big battle had developed in the primary in the 10th Assembly District. [ ] inquired if Brooklyn had agreed with any of it (believed to refer to the battle) and [ ] stated that [ ] (believed to be [ ]) had made some statements concerning a discussion which he and LIL (believed to be LIL GATES) had had on a subway. [ ] stated that when he and LIL disagreed, LIL walked away from him and that [ ] had brought it up claiming the incident to be white Chauvinism. [ ] stated the [ ] had made wild statements but had calmed down later.

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The informant indicated that [ ] and [ ] agreed that the job was too much for [ ].

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

7/6/56

SA [redacted] (#19)

CP, USA ORGANIZATION  
IS-C

b6  
b7C

Identity of Informant:

NY 1750-3\*

Reliability:

is in a position to  
furnish reliable informa-  
tion concerning PHIL and  
CONSTANCE BART

Date:

6/9/56

On this date, PHIL BART stated that he had attended  
a meeting. He stated that (JOHN) GATES and MAX (HEISS?) were  
there. BART said there was a lot of sharp disagreement at  
the discussion, but that on the whole everybody thought that  
the "Daily Worker" was doing a good job though one can  
criticize certain things it has done "in giving the line" of  
the Party. BART stated that there is a lot of disagreement,  
that a difference exists between "the National and the Daily".

- 1 - NY (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#19)
- 1 - NY (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19)
- 1 - NY (100-18672) (MAX HEISS) (#19)
- 1 - NY (97-169) ("DAILY WORKER") (#7-2)
- 1 - NY (100-81075) (CP, USA PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS) (#19)
- ① - NY (100-85508) (CP, USA LINE) (#19)
- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (#19)
- 1 - NY (100-12359) [redacted] (#19)

100-95583-306

b6  
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RAD:cm  
(9)

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 6 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Jan*



OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-040) (#20-11) DATE: 7/16/56

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (#7-4)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO,  
BRONX COUNTY  
IS-C

SOURCE: [REDACTED] (Protect by "T" symbol)

RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable  
information in the past

DATE OF ACTIVITY: 5/31/56

DATE RECEIVED: 6/7/56

RECEIVED BY: SA [REDACTED]

LOCATION: [REDACTED]

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The information contained in this report  
should not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless  
it is paraphrased.

- 1- [REDACTED] (P & C) (#7-4)
- 1-NY 100-123930 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1-NY 100- [REDACTED]
- 1-NY 100-75418 (SAM COHEN) (#20-10)
- 1-NY 100-120276 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1-NY 100-64211 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1-NY 100-89402 [REDACTED] (LNU) (#20-10)
- 1-NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
- 1-NY 100- [REDACTED]
- 1-NY 100-126790 ([REDACTED])
- 1-NY 100-129186 [REDACTED] (#20-10)
- 1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#12-14)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (#12-14)
- 1-NY 100-79717 (CP, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (#12-14)
- 1-NY 100-26603-0320 (KINGSBRIDGE SECTION) (#20-10)

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b7C  
b7D

JPH:ecf  
(16)

100-95583-307

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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JUL 18 1956.	
F. B. I. - NEW YORK	

[REDACTED] JW

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C40

The informant by report dated 6/4/56,  
reported on a meeting at the CP Club at the Bronx  
Northwest Section held at the apartment of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Bronx, NY. This meeting  
was held on 5/31/56.

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COPY

Report

Communist Party U.S.A. June 4, 1956  
Activities New York

A meeting of the Communist Party Club of the Bronx North-west Section was held on May 31st, 1956 at the apartment of [redacted] at [redacted] Bronx, N. Y. The following members were present at this meeting: [redacted] and her [redacted] who is not a member of this club. He, [redacted] participated in the meeting only because the meeting was in his house and he was present. Sam Cchen, [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted].

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Sam Cohen chaired the meeting.

[redacted] asked to members to buy the book of Wm. Z. Foster "Outline and History of the World Trade Union Movement."

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This book costs \$3.50. [redacted] and [redacted] bought one book each.

Next was the question of "activizing" those members of the club who do not attend the meetings of the club regularly - "some members do not attend the meetings at all."

A short discussion developed on this subject. [redacted] Sam and [redacted] pointed out that "it is an unhealthy and serious situation" and "it must be corrected."

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It was decided that [redacted] will give to [redacted] the list of the club members who do not or very seldom attend the club meetings. [redacted] will divide the list of the names among the members who attend the meetings regularly for the purpose of visiting them and induce them to attend the club meetings.

*Att # 1 to 100 - 95582 - 309*

COPY

- 2 -

At the suggestion of [redacted] this meeting decided to drop [redacted] from [redacted], Bronx, N.Y., [redacted] from membership because she "refused to register; she claims that she is nervous and afraid." Burt asked "to be released from active work in the club." ("I will attend club meetings from time to time"). He explained that he was asked to organize in the Bronx a Committee of people who are interested in PT activities "to force" the Board of Education to organize special classes with a special staff of teachers for children who are "mentally unbalanced." He said that there are no such classes in the Bronx and "the party (Communist) wants me to organize such a committee. I'll try my best to do something in this direction." He was released by the club for the work he outlined.

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[redacted] lead a discussion on "the possibilities of an economic crises in the U.S."

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She pointed out that "in this Eisenhower era big business is engoing a big prosperity but not the farmers, the workers nor the broad masses of the people: they engoe only the right of suffering under the system of free enterprice."

She underlined that while "big buisness is reaping tremendous profits unemployment is rising and is much higher in 1956 than it was in 1953" and that "even small buisness and the middle class are excluded from this 1955-56 prosperity."

[redacted] spoke about "our war economy: We are spending something in the vicinity of 35 billion dollars a year on the so called national security. This war economy provides uge profits for the monopolists and there is a little extra money floating around in the country but in the long run this war economy is leading the country into a tremendous. economic crisis: no country, even a country as rich as we are, can not stand

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b7C

COPY

- 3 -

the spending of some many billions on H. bombs; on war planes and all kind of war materials. And, of course, there is also the danger that some military man in Washington might decided that there are to many H. bombs and to many war planes and we might as well use some of it."

She underlined that "the continuation of the cold war is not only the political policy of the Eisenhower administration it is also the economic policy of the Wall Street monopolists. We had many chances to watch the reaction of Wall Street when the Soviet Union advances a peace program and reduces it's army by some 1,200,000 men."

She underlined that "an economic crisis in conditions of a 35 billion dollars war economy is inevitable" and when "the crash will come it will be of such tremendous magnitude that it will blow up the entire economic structure which we call today the economy of free enterprice and it might lead the country to Socialism much quicker than many of us expect it."

Everyone present participated in the following discussions.

Everyone agreed that "a war economy is not a healthy economy." Burt stated that "if we do away with the cold war and go into trading with the Socialist world it will serve as a shock absorber and will cover a great part of the 35 billions which we will stop spending on war materials. The stoping of the cold war will also give congress a chance to reduce taxes and the country will be able to concentrate on the production of consumer materials. I believe that an economic crisis could be avoided. But I am afraid that this government is to blind and big buisness is to greedy to pay much attention to the danger signals, signals which point in the direction of Socialism."

COPY

- 4 -

[redacted] underlined, in discussing the possibility of an economic crises, that "an economic crises no matter how sharp still does not lead a country to Socialism." He stated that "in a 300 billion dollar economy the spending of 35 billions on national security doesn't put the country in the classification of a war economy;" that "big buisness could absorb this government spending through expantions and the government could absorb part of these billions by allocating billions for the building of new radways (a program which is all ready being undertaken by the administration) and schools and hospitals, etc., etc. Many of the Communist economists foresaw an economic crisis in the United States, remember Vargo? A few short years after the war. At that time I disagreed with Vargo. In the Soviet Union they started to disagree with Vargo after the death of Stalin. Under a system of progressive planning even a capitalist economy could avoid a destructive economic crises. And an economic crisis does not bring Socialism. There are many other conditions, or rather a chain of historic conditions that might bring Socialism to a country but it is not an economic crisis which is just a momentary, single, a temporary upset as after the 2nd World War I still belive that the economic conditions in the U.S. are in such a shape that it is wishfull thinking that an economic crisis could destroy the capitalist system in this country."

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It was decided to hold the next meeting of the club a [redacted]s apartment at [redacted], Bronx, N.Y. on June 13th, 1956.

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)

7/17/56

SA [redacted] (20-10)

BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

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b7D

Source: [redacted] (protect identity)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity: 7/2/55

Date Received: 7/5/56

*See 100-88-655*

In the attached report [redacted] sets forth the details of a club organizer's meeting of the Hunts Point - Tremont Boulevard Section, Bronx County CP, held on July 2, 1955.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 1 - [redacted] (P&C) (20-10)
- 1 - 100-128439 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (INU) (25, 5-3, W-N, 140 lbs.) (20-10)
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (INU) (27, 5-2, W-S, 120 lbs.) (20-10)
- 1 - 100-128432 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-52710 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP USA LINE) (12-14)
- 1 - 100-26603-C40

ME:dn  
(8)

*100-95583-308*

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JUL 20 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*19*  
*[Signature]*

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C O P Y

Date of report July 4, 1956

T. C. P.

I attended a club organizers meeting, of the Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard section Communist Party at [redacted] house [redacted] No. on Monday July 2, I got there about 8:45 and no one was there, the night was very hot and [redacted] was a little peeved that no one was here at this late hour.

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A little later two young people came in, a fellow introduced to me as [redacted] and the girl as [redacted] about 25, 5'3" about 140 lbs, fair complexion pleasant smile, [redacted] about 27, 5'-2", 120 lbs, wears blue horned rim glasses, light hair and fair complexion.

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[redacted] - from the Parents Club came in followed by [redacted] who carried a box containing literature, Party Voice for June, and May Political Affairs.

The meeting got under way after nine thirty and [redacted] presented two points for discussion the role of the Party now, and the question of club meetings for the summer and if possible a Section wide meeting with a prominent speaker from the National, State, or County level addressing us.

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On the question of club meetings, most of the clubs will hold one or two meetings during the summer, and [redacted] suggested that we hold a section wide meeting during the summer so that we can keep in contact with our membership.

This suggestion did not meet with the approval of those present.

After discussing it, it was decided to hold a section meeting on Wednesday night Aug. 1, and plans will be made in the meantime for a place and a speaker from either the National, State, or County leadership.

C O P Y

Att #16 No. 95583-305



COPY - 2

T. C. P.

On the question of vacation [ ] was going to Summerset Camp starting next week July 8. For two weeks the others were also going within the next two months.

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The question of having one or more clubs meet during the summer was discussed and it was not advisable to carry out.

[ ] discussed shortly the role of the Party in the coming period, the question of our people going into mass work, and mass organizations, and to work among masses, these organizations would welcome our participation whether political or fraternal or otherwise.

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The 20th Congress and Krushchevs report opened our eyes to the many mistakes which our Party has made in following the leadership of the U.S.S.R. under the "Cult of The Individual."

This report is one which we cannot let dissolve, but must discuss it over and over again, so that we can once again become the vanguard of the working class in the true sense of the word.

The others also agreed that in the past we have made many mistakes, and a good example is in our recent fund drive, where people are so lax and deliberately refuse to give to a fund drive, where instead years back, a member gave without hesitation, only in the rarest cases did people not give.

But as was pointed out by [ ] and [ ] this report has brought out more people to meetings and another example was the Thursday night at the Chateau Gardens on June 28, where nearly nine hundred people came to hear our National leaders give a report and lead a discussion.

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COPY

COPY - 3

[redacted] saw faces of people whom he has not  
seen in a number of years and this is indeed a good  
sign.

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At the end of the meeting [redacted] gave us  
copies of the June Party Voice and also some May  
Political Affairs.

COPY

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40) DATE: JUL 17 1956

FROM : SA [redacted] (20-10)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C b6  
b7C  
b7D

Source: [redacted] (protect identity)

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity: 6/28/56

Date Received: 7/5/56

- 1 - [redacted] (P&C)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-97167 (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)(7-2)
- 1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(19)
- 1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)(19)
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (CHATEAU GARDENS)(7-2)
- 1 - 100-52710 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-126098 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-90533 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACTENBERG)(19)
- 1 - 100-319 (BOB APPEL) (20-10)
- 1 - 100-62881 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100- [redacted] (LNU))(20-10)
- 1 - 100- (UNSUB; Female)(Bx. County CP, Mother of [redacted] LNU) (20-10)
- 1 - 100-13466 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-17923 (JOHN GATES)(19)
- 1 - 100-14859 [redacted] (19)
- 1 - 100-18672 (MAX WEISS)(19)
- 1 - 100-68373 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-93810 [redacted]

b6  
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COPIES CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

1 - 100-26603-C40

MFD: dn  
(23)

100-9583-309

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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19	JUL 17 1956
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted] g/w

Memo  
NY 100-26603-C40

In the attached report [redacted] sets forth the details of a special meeting held on 6/28/56 and sponsored by the monthly magazine, "Political Affairs."

b7D

COPIES CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

① - 100-95583 (CP USA LINE)  
1 - 100-23290 ([redacted])  
1 - 100-50983 (BILL NORMAN)

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C O P Y

Date of report June 29, 1956

T. C. P.

On Thursday night June 28, I attended a special meeting sponsored by the monthly Magazine, "Political Affairs."

This meeting was an invitation to hear Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the C.P.U.S.A. discuss "Current Problems of The Communist Party U.S.A."

The Chairman was to be Herbert Aptheker and the time of the meeting was set for 8 P.M. The meeting was to be held at the Chateau Gardens, Houston Street and 2nd Ave. Admission was to be by invitation only.

I arrived there about 8 P.M. and as I entered [redacted] was at the door collecting the tickets.

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In the lobby I saw [redacted], Alexander Tractenberg, [redacted] a Bronx County functionary, [redacted] a Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Club organizer, [redacted] and his mother they attended the recent Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Section Conference at the New Terrace Gardens on June 16, I also saw in the hall [redacted] a member of the section committee of the above section.

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On the stage were John Gates former & present editor of the Daily & Sunday Worker, [redacted] a writer for the paper and Max Weiss, educational director, and member of the National Committee of the C.P. U.S.A.

C O P Y

Att # 1 to 100-95583-309 <sup>stan</sup>

C O P Y - 2

T. C. P.

There were about 900 people at this meeting. I also saw [redacted] husband of [redacted] [redacted] who heads the tenants council in the Bronx.

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[redacted] was selling the Daily Worker (Thurs) in the rear of the hall.

The meeting started about 8:30, a well dressed and scholarly looking man opened the meeting (I have never seen Aptheker before but according to the ticket he was to chair the meeting) with the following remarks, that Gene Dennis was to have been the main speaker here tonight, but due to a cardiac condition, and further agravating this condition by a five day meeting of the National Committee, Gene has been ordered confined to his bed by his doctors orders.

The Speaker expressed his sincerest wishes that Gene will recover soon, and he will also convey the wishes of all here present to that effect.

In Genes place to give a report and to answer questions we have with us tonight Max Weiss National Educational Director of the Communist Party and a member of the National Committee.

[redacted] read from a prepared report for about forty-five minutes, and said that some of his remarks are his own some reflect the thinking of the National Committee and others are remarks open for discussion.

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[redacted] outlined the Krushchey report, how it was leaked out by our State Dept. why did not the leaders of the S.U. (Soviet Union) come out with this report, and not totaly disregard the Communist Parties of the world.

C O P Y

C O P Y - 3

T. C. P.

He condemned the report in its entirety, the placing the blame on Stalin because of all the atrocities that were committed against the people, against the Jewish doctor and cultural leaders, of all the other crimes, all these cannot be placed on the head of Stalin, the present leaders of the Soviet Union must assume some of the responsibility for these crimes against the people.

[ ] outlined the beginning of the first Socialist State from the start of the October revolution in 1917 until its present day, how this State struggled for its very existence against the attacks from within, the ruling class of that period and the capitalist class of the world. b6 b7C

How in the period of 1939 through 1945, during the Hitler and Mussolini regime the Soviet Union struggled hard and won, against an imperialist Japan also, and then under the leadership of Stalin for twenty years, a man that was allowed to yield so much power, as to hold the lives of millions of people in his hand, to destroy them at will, and now all this comes to light, but again he is not alone to blame.

We here in America must re-examine our policy in conformity with world changes, which have come to light recently, from the Italian Communist, the French and others. We must become an independent Party, form our own thinking through constructive discussion, and if after these discussions we make mistakes they will be our own mistakes.

Concerning the Krushchev report [ ] pointed out that we have no proof of its authenticity, the Soviet Union never confirmed it, they neither b6 b7C

C O P Y

C O P Y - 4

T. C. P.

denied it, but Pravada this week printed a report by Gene Dennis, which appeared in the Daily Work, earlier in the week, which gives proof of its authenticity. Otherwise they would have not printed the report.

[ ] concluded his report at about 9:30 and he received a little applause, the chairman then introduced [ ] to say a few words on the paper, and he commented on the recent newspaper headlines, the N.Y. Times, N.Y. Herald Tribune, etc. (incidentally his remarks appeared in the Daily Worker of Friday June 29 word for word, except that he urged us to subscribe to the paper if we have not already done so, and also that the paper needs 40 thousand dollars to operate through the summer, this is for the current fund drive and we must see to it that the money comes in.

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The Chairman asked the audience to submit questions to the chair and [ ] would answer as many as he could tonight.

At least one half hour was taken for the writing and sorting of letters, and after which, about 10 o'clock, order was resumed again and Max Weiss answered some of the questions.

There were so many that it was impossible to answer all of them, he will probably use the medium of the Party Voice to do so, or any other method which will reach the membership.

The meeting was concluded at 10:45 p.m.

Another person who was sitting at the platform was a tall pipe smoking man (probably

C O P Y



C O P Y - 5

, and I also saw Bill Norman in the lobby when I came in.

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C O P Y

JUL 18 1956

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603) (#12-14)

SA [redacted] (#19)

CP, USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO  
IS-C

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b7C

Identity of Informant: NY 1743-S\*

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information concerning material maintained at CP National Headquarters, 101 West 16th Street, NY, NY

Date: 6/15/56

On this date, informant made available a letter from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, dated 5/31/56, apparently addressed to EUGENE DENNIS. This letter, which is set out in full below, is a criticism by FOSTER of [redacted]'s report to the NY County.

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b7C

"May 31, 1956

"Dear GENE:

"This letter is a follow-up of my remarks to you yesterday regarding the report of Comrade [redacted] to the New York State Committee. I have read it three times, and each time I have been more appalled by it. It is amazing that an experienced comrade, however good his intentions, could deliver such a negative report, and it is even more astonishing that the State Committee could accept it without a single dissenting vote -- there were three abstentions.

b6  
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"Among the many shortcomings of the report is its complete failure to give any credit to the Party for its

- 1-100-8257 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
- 1-100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19)
- 1-100-23290 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1-100-95583 (CP, USA, LINE) (#19)

BAD:DCG  
(5)

100-95583-310

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
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MEMO  
NY 100-26603

"work over the past years. To comrade [redacted] the whole thing is a dismal collection of failures and mistakes, real and imaginary. As he states matters, however, these for the most part are gross distortions of our Party's life during the past decade. It contains also other errors. One would think that our Party had been led all this time by political fools. Comrade [redacted] also gives a complete brush-off to the difficult objective situation of recent years, as though it were of no importance whatever. It would be nonsense to consider such stuff as in any way constituting healthful self-criticism.

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The hard fight conducted during the cold war, particularly against the war and fascism, and in defense of the legality and life of our Party, has been such as to evoke the praise and admiration from Communist parties all over the world; but not from comrade [redacted]. The way he presents this situation is that it was all a ghastly error. Not a single word of appreciation has he even for the many comrades who have served, or are now serving, long terms in prison in defense of the Party. But all this is in tune with the grossly negative character of the report, which is a misrepresentation of your own report and the general spirit of the recent meeting of our National Committee.

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"Every Communist report should have as a basic approach an appreciation of the constructive work done by the Party, after which should come responsible and correct criticism. A reporter should aim to inspire the Party and its followers with the value and importance of the Party, especially when it has behind it such a courageous battle as our Party has waged during the past several years. But comrade [redacted] for whom I have great respect, completely ignores these elementary considerations, with his reckless blast against the Party's policies and activities in this period. The workers cannot possibly be inspired by such a negative report and caricature of self-criticism. He can be certain, however, it will be welcomed by the Trotskyites and other enemies of our Party.

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"The report will have a harmful effect upon our already sorely tried membership and body of followers and supporters. During the past several years our Party has been severely tested by the blows of the government and under the persecution of the war hysteria. On top of all this has

MEMO  
NY 100-26603

"come the disillusioning shock of the STALIN reevaluation. Now, if we are to hit the Party with such a blast as that contained in comrade [redacted]'s report, it seems to me that we are asking just too much of the Party. After all, there are limits to the Party's capacity to absorb punishment.

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"[redacted]'s report is bad enough in itself but things would be even worse if this one-sided and distorted approach to the Party's experiences should prevail in the coming Party discussion. Obviously, also, there is a real danger of this when the leading committee in the biggest district in the Party adopts such a negative report as that of comrade [redacted]

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Of course, we must have the freest possible debate in the Party discussion, but this does not mean that it should run wild, without national leadership.

"It seems to me, therefore, that the situation demands immediate attention by our Party nationally. Two things, at least, should be done. First, comrade [redacted]'s report should be criticized as violation of the line and welfare of the Party, and second, steps should be taken to see to it that a correct political organization of the Party discussion is established.

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"Will you please read this letter to the Administrative Committee?"

"Comradely yours,

"BILL FOSTER"

If this material is disseminated, it must be paraphrased to protect the highly confidential nature of this informant. The original negatives of this material are maintained in 100-4931-1A618.

The original of this letter is attached for WILLIAM Z. FOSTER's file.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603C40)

DATE: 7/18/56

FROM: SA [redacted] 20-10

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

- 1 [redacted] P&C 20-10
- 1-NY 100-82900 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-80640 (CP District #2 Negro Question) 12-14
- 1-NY 100-4119 (ISADORE BEGUN) (12-16)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA - Line) (19)
- 1-NY 100-8057 (GENE DENNIS)
- 1-NY 100-18672 (MAX WEISS)
- 1-NY 100-98699 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (7-5)
- 1-NY 100-52710 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-106044 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-109045 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-68378 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-74519 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-100182 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-68373 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-101808 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-12504-2 [redacted] (LNU) 20-10
- 1-NY 100-50983 (BILL NORMAN) 7-5
- 1-NY 100-128439 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-62881 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-13466 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-74453 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-76253 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-25880 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (LNU) B. and Co. CP, Jewish, white-male, 50,  
5' 6", grey hair) 20-10
- 1-NY 100-128314 (CP District #2 Bunds) 12-14
- 1-NY 100-80641 (CP District #2 Organization) 12-14
- 1-NY 100-319 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-44606 (JOE CLARK)
- 1-NY 100-13444 (JOSEPH NORTH) 20-9
- 1-NY 100-118222 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100-83713 (BILL JOHNSON) 20-10
- 1-NY 100-63733 [redacted] 20-10
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (LNU) Bronx Co. CP) 20-10
- 1-NY 100- (UNSUB Female (mother of [redacted] (LNU) present  
at CP Conference) 20-10

b6  
b7C  
b7D

MFD:md  
(36)

*4/20*

*100-95583-311*

*19* JUL 19 1956

[redacted] *Q/W*

Memo  
NY 100-36603C40

Agent to whom furnished	[redacted]
Source	[redacted] conceal identity
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Date of activity	6/16/56
Date Received	6/25/56
Location	[redacted]

b6  
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In the attached report [redacted] sets forth the details of a conference held on 6/16/56 at the New Terrace Gardens between Hunts Point and Tremont Blvd. section of the CP. (East Bronx)

If any of this information contained in this report is disseminated it should be suitably paraphrased.

Date of Report 6-17, 1956

T. C. P.

Report of the conference, held on June 16, Saturday, at the New Terrace Gardens, 181st and Boston Rd. from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., by the Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard Section of the Communist Party, (East Bronx).

This conference was an aftermath of a meeting held at the New Hungarian Restaurant a few months back, at a discussion on the report of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union. At that meeting it was voted that this Section hold a convention, or conference to discuss openly our opinions and dissensions if any on this report.

This conference is not a policy making body but it will submit resolutions which will be presented to the Bronx County organization, to be presented or acted upon at their convention or to the National Convention in December.

The conference opened with a report by [redacted] the Hunts Point, Tremont, Boulevard, Section Organizer, I came in in the midst of his report some of his remarks are as follows; years back we made many mistakes in which we operated in the Communist Party, and that Fascism is not inevitable but the Communist Party is inevitable.

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Another mistake was our lack of confidence in the ability of the people to stop the Bourgeois.

Another mistake was that we did not tolerate, in our ranks the right to dissent, and if a person did not agree with Party Policy he was considered a Crackpot, a person dared not disagree in deed or thought.

On the question of White Chauvinism, this fight was carried out mainly within our Party and not outside also, thus the outside world was ignorant of the meaning White Chauvinism, and today people are reluctant to speak for or against it.

Att # 16100-95583-311 *etc*

T.C.P.

We have very few if any Negroes in our Party leadership and also among our membership, this is due mainly to our attitude to the Negro problem. A good example of recent occurrence, was the Hill incident in the Bronx where they were placed in the limelight when some boys stoned his house.

A few years back if such an incident happened we would be in the forefront with literature, forces and possibly a picket line.

Another main reason for this laxity is that our own people have not penetrated into the inner ranks of the N.A.A.C.P. Mayors Committee etc. if we did belong we would be in the forefront of this fight.

There fine Negro organizations are waging a fine struggle with the aid of the P.T.A. and other Neighborhood organization.

A few years ago Isadore Begun was removed from the Chairmanship of Bronx County and many people complained that it was a very bad move on the part of the leaders of the Communist Party, and because of that action many people dropped out especially the older Jewish people.

In the past eight years [ ] pointed out, the responsible leaders of our Party have changed 8 County Organizers, this mainly because of a lack of confidence by these same leaders.

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[ ] said that he would conclude his remarks with the question of democracy in our Party, and What kind of Party do we expect to have.

On democracy in our Party [ ] pointed out that it was not very democratic of our National leaders to hold back the Khushshchey report until they were good and ready to release it, also [ ] said that he has first hand information that there was much dissension at the meeting of the National leaders, but no report of this has come out except the three favorable and unanimous report of Gene Dennis, Max Weiss and Claude Lightfoot.

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T.C.P.

[ ] is very much peeved that more discussion on the Khusshchev report is not being held by the leaders of our Party both pro and con. and how we in the Party in the U.S. can forge ahead and if necessary establish an American Communist Party, with the same goals of Peace, and eventually Socialism.

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[ ] continuously criticised the National leaders of our Party for their silence, thus misleading and confusing our members so much so, that we have suffered a severe setback, one from which it will take us a long time to recover from.

We must examine very carefully the line and form of our Party even to the point where the question of Socialism here in the U.S. will come peacefully as we predict.

[ ] said that since he joined the Communist Party in 1936, and this period is the worse he has remembered in all those years, he predicted a bright future for our Party, if we adopt more drastic measures, such as vigilance, the right to dissent, and a continued fight for Peace and Socialism.

The following people were present at this conference about 30 through the day, [ ] who chaired the conference all day. [ ]

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[ ],  
the former Ex. County financial director, Bill Norman.  
Max Weiss, [ ]

[ ] who left in  
the afternoon, he got into a [ ] license  
number [ ]

The first speaker was a man named [ ], who I remember as a Party member for a long time. He is about 50, Jewish, speaks with an accent, has grey hair and is about 5' 6" tall and has grey hair

He agreed with [ ]'s report and said that it was presented in a truly critical manner, but that we should examine our own leaders from top to bottom also.

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T.C.P.

We had a 5 minute break from 12:20 A.M. to 12:25 A.M. before [ ] spoke.

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[ ] continued, and said that there are many problems and questions which we as members had a right to know, and have a voice in, for example, when a section staff or a section Committee is "appointed" no one has a say in the matter, and in most cases these people in section leadership are not known by the membership.

Another question is that of finances, from his own personal experiences, a very lax method is employed by our Party, no accounting or bookkeeping is recorded and in his estimation at least \$15,000 to 20,000 is collected by the Party each year and no bookkeeping is taken on this money.

[ ] suggested that a closer check be made of the finances of the Party, from the lower up to the higher bodies of our Party.

In the matter of selecting leaders of our Party, this can be accomplished by elections; where the memberships have a voice in these elections.

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The next speaker was Bill Norman, one of the leaders of our Party, he too thanked [ ] for the splendid report that he submitted to this conference.

It was a very nicely put critical report, on the action taken by the leaders of our Party since the statements they issued on the 20th Congress.

Bill stated that the Party has a bright future and that the people have faith in Socialism. It is true that we made errors in the Past, and will continue to make them in the future, but if we keep in mind that our Party was built on struggle, and we must keep a closer watch on our leaders, to insure against committing these same mistakes again.

T.C.P

Bill said that we can disagree with Dennis report, it is our right to dissent, he stated that he did not agree on his report concerning a third party, because a third Party tendered to isolate the Party, and a third Party years back would cause a break among the labor unions, and other organizations.

He mentioned a few organizations local 65, Maritime, T. W. U. etc. on the question of the then 5¢ fare where we gave the T. W. U. no alternative thus resulting a break with Quill.

On the question of Begun and [redacted], he felt that a grave mistake was made at that time and it was very incorrect.

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On the question of Negro rights, during that same period many Negroes were chained this amounting to hundreds.

There has been little change in our Party struggles during the last few years, the structure of the Party remains the same.

We must rid our Party of Bureaucracy which has become very prevalent of late, causing much concern among our ranks.

Some question which Bill posed for this conference were as follows: Why did we not get answers from our National Committee? and he answers, that the solution is that, the Clubs must begin to answer the National Committee.

The next speaker was [redacted] a member and Club organizer of the Cultural Club. He also said that [redacted]'s report was very timely one, and placed the responsibility squarely where it belonged.

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In his regular meetings he said that many discussions were held on the 20th Congress and everyone was well acquainted with the report.

Many prominent speakers were in attendance at his meetings, Joe Clark, [redacted] and others.

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T.C.P.

One thing [ ] neglected to bring out in his report was the question of elections in our sections etc.

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The conference broke up at one O'Clock for lunch and refreshments were also served, through the courtesy of the husband of [ ] who bought the cold cuts and made the sandwiches.

Before the break [ ] said that on Thursday, June 28, at the Chateau Gardens, Gene Dennis was going to speak, and invitation was by ticket only, these will be had within the next week.

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The afternoon session got under way at 1:40 P.M. and the first speaker was [ ] who also congratulated [ ] on rendering such a service to our section and our Party. [ ] said that we should keep the Khushshches report before our minds continuously and not make it disappear under the carpet.

The Party has to grow to avert a crisis and one of the ways this can be done is to work in and through the main streams of the many organizations.

It is a sad thing to say but in the past few years, [ ] said, that many victories have been won by the workers without the help of the C.P. the Vanguard of the working class, because we have not been in these organizations.

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[ ] gave us an example of one of his best friends whom he met in College, a Party member for sometime until he could not tolerate the strict discipline and dropped out with his wife, till this day he has not come back, but is still in sympathy with the left.

[ ] almost broke down while he was talking, and hesitated for a few minutes to recover, and then went on to relate how the Callousness of the Party years back caused not only his friend but many others to drop out of the Party.

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T.C.P.

He also related how during the Bill Johnson expulsion the leaders of our Party in the Bronx, at that time did not bring before the membership the full particulars concerning the truth of the case and in the course of the proceedings, [redacted] the wife of one of the Ohio Smith Act Victims was treated very shamefully and almost accused of White Chauvinism and was very severely reprimanded that until this day the stigma still stands and [redacted] would like to make a resolution that the Bronx County and State Committee leadership apologize to her for that unforgiven incident.

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[redacted] again spoke about his friend and related how he dropped out of the Party, it was because he was in disagreement with the Party at that time on the position of Local 65 thus being expelled from the C.P. something which he never forgot even to this day, and now [redacted] sees that the position taken by the C.P. at that time was wrong.

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This incident is only one example of how the Party leadership ruled with an iron hand and with total disregard for the membership, but in the future we must insist that these things do not happen again that we the membership should be told and consulted, and have a part in discussing whatever happens within our Party if it seems an important decision has to be made, and if the leadership neglects this they should be removed.

[redacted] in a few words said that the Party is fighting for its very existence since the Smith Act went into effect and the reason for this is that the Party is fighting for the working class.

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b7C

[redacted] was the next speaker and after complimenting [redacted] on his very timely report on in which he agreed completely, he said that Party Policy must be a living thing, for example if an important decision has been made and later it is found to be inoperative due to changing circumstances, this Policy or decision can and should be changed either by the leadership or membership to conform with the change. This policy must not be forced on us for eternity.

T.C.P.

If nothing comes out of this conference, but an awakening of the leadership of our Party that we the members have a voice or must have a voice in the formulating of Policy and what road we must follow, instead of waiting for directive, from above, then this conference will be a success.

The next speaker was [ ] who asks, what kind of a program will we have now, and one point which she has disagreed with in the past was the appointment of Committees, section leadership etc. without consulting the membership. This has got to be changed and any person, or persons for any office must be elected by the membership.

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Another gripe of hers was, that if any Party meeting on the upper levels was held and a decision has to be rendered then this should be reported back to the Clubs where a discussion is to be held and that is where decisions are and should be made.

Also at these Party meetings we should know who agrees and who disagrees.

Another point of importance for our members is that we insist that we all know the constitution and by laws of our Party, in doing this we should tack our constitution out of the moth balls and reexamine them.

[ ]-, whom I believe to be the former financial sec. of Bx. County CP spoke and she related the loose method of keeping records, and that after 35 years out of work she was forced recently to go out and look for a job, and after going out day after day and not finding one, she thanked God, although as she said I do not believe in God, that I did not find one.

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Max Weiss, a member of the National Committee of the C.P.U.S. spoke and he too agree with what [ ] said, and said that he along with Gene Dennis and Claude Lightfoot wrote on the 20th Congress expressing his views as he saw the situation at the present time.

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T.C.P.

This conference today has been one of great importance and in his estimation a very fruitful and encouraging one to him and all here present.

In answer to a question put to him by [ ] on whether the National C.P. released the full text of the Krushchev report, to the New York Times, before submitting it to the membership of the Communist Party, a [ ] said he had heard from very reliable source and was it true that there was much dissent among the National leadership during this discussion by them, and if these things are so, why did we the membership were kept in total ignorance.

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Another question was, why is not the leadership discussing this Congress report not only among themselves but exchanging their views with the membership.

[ ] answered that it is not true that the National Committee released nor had the official report by Krushchev at the time the N.Y. Times released it but rather what we did have and released to the Press was an unofficial report or a rumor by a British agent who was in possession of such a rumor, which much to our chagrin turned out to be the true report. The National Committee never knowingly or willfully gave out a report of any kind.

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And as Weiss pointed out it was unfortunate that this rumor happened to be true and the Capitalist Press played it up to their advantage.

On the question of dissension in the Party leadership it is true that we were in disagreement but we did adopt Gene Dennis report unanimously, also on more discussion among the leadership Ben Davis rendered a report he, Weiss, rendered a report!

On a suggestion by [ ], Weiss was to take back to the National leadership a resolution from this convention that the top leadership discuss more this report, and keep us posted on the Pros and Cons about these discussions.

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T.C.P.

[ ] and [ ] read a number of resolutions which were submitted by the various clubs, in this section, to this conference, which will be mimeographed and distributed to each Club for a general discussion and approval, to be presented to the leadership of our Party, through the Bx. County leadership, for their approval or disapproval.

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Some of these resolutions are as follows:

1. That the National Committee take a positive stand against Capital punishment.
2. That the National Committee ask for a full account on the Krushchew report.
3. That each person who handles finances give a financial report.
4. That the dues payments be made on a three month basis instead of a monthly basis.
5. That the State Committee render an apology to [ ] [ ]

[ ] spoke earlier in the afternoon because he had to leave to attend an affair in honor of [ ] and [ ], he too congratulated [ ] for his report, and also the East Bronx Section for holding this conference, this conference does a great service to this area.

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He remarked that this is the only large Jewish Community in our Party, there are many Jewish Organizations, years ago this area had a very large number of Jewish People in the I.W.O. and these people are active today in some other organizations.

The question of Israel and financial and Material aid is of great concern to the people in this community.

[ ] did not elaborate too much on the 20th Congress and in his remarks he seemed to be cold to the report submitted by [ ] and favoring the leaders of our Party for the stand which they took on this report.

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Another speaker was a fellow by the name of [ ] -, later his mother spoke, and he said that people say that Communism is a religion, and he went on to cite many examples, about our Party and always referring to these in a religious way, for example the Party constitution is our bible.



T.C.P.

He totally disagreed with the Party leadership and the stand they took and have taken since the Browder period in 1945.

He is in complete agreement that to reorganize our Party is a must as soon as possible.

spoke on the finances of our Section, and she was completely fed up because of her many duties and tasks which she handles, finances, registrations, membership, literature, fund drives, etc. This is too great a responsibility for any one person to handle and something must be done about.

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b7C

No task which we under take, can be successful, more people should be involved if we are to forge ahead with success.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43)

7/20/56

SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

CP, USA  
DISTRICT #2  
KINGS COUNTY  
IS - C

Identity of Informant  
Reliability

NY 1657-S\*  
Who has furnished  
reliable information  
in the past

Date of Activity  
Date of Receipt  
Agent Receiving  
Location

6/15/56  
6/15/56  
JOSEPH T. O'LEARY  
100-26603 sub 31

NY 1657-S\* furnished information that On 6/6/56, an unidentified individual at a section organizer's meeting held at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, announced that the next section organizer's meeting would be held on 6/15/56. NY 1657-S\* furnished information on 6/15/56 that a meeting was held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, NY, when the following information was obtained: [redacted] brought the meeting to order and turned the floor over to an unidentified male.

An unidentified woman stated that the American CP had not been fully accepted in the US and that she did not think that it would ever be accepted as long as it was modeled after the CP of the Soviet Union. She stated that no one can advocate changes in the Party without relating it to the press. She stated that she was in favor of a weekly publication rather than the current daily and weekly publication of a Party organ. She stated that she thought that [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) could bear her out on this.

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[redacted] then spoke on the history of the

- 1- (BOOK WORLD)(100-115606)(#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-43258)(#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-54448)(#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-52959)(#20-11)
- 1- (CP LINE)(100-95583)(#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-11156)(#20-11)
- 1- (Supervisor J.F. HIGGINS)

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b7C

100-95583-312

JTO:amc

(8)

[redacted] [Signature]

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

Soviet Union.

[redacted] opined that a group of people so intentioned and working in the right direction could make the CP grow. He commented that the "Daily" (Worker) reflects the Party's position in all issues but that for the last few years it has been inasmuch of a crisis as that of the Party.

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An unidentified male stated that he felt that it was unjustified for Comrade JAMES to make a major report after being in jail for such a long period. This individual offered the following suggestions:

1. The best way to resolve Party problems is to open up the fullest kind of discussion among all comrades.

2. Whatever happens to the future of things the major question of moving into the main stream must be acted upon, together with these discussions.

3. Regardless of the future of these things these problems must be straightened out.

[redacted] then introduced the next speaker as [redacted] (ph).

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[redacted] stated that she had worked for the Party for 21 years and has adhered to those policies of the Party most rigidly and dogmatically. She stated "in complete utter devotion, and like I kiddingly say, I would jump off the Empire State Building - some of us have had that kind of training." She stated that the Party in the US has something like 15 to 17,000 comrades in the Party now.

She stated that she had been speaking to some of the section organizers earlier in the evening and was told by one of the section organizers that she could possibly have a membership of 200 in her section. She commented that she had been a section organizer off and on during her Party life. She commented that the meetings between now and the time of the next CP convention were important and that it was up to them to make a big, broad, different kind of Party.

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-043

[redacted] stated that the New York State Committee had arranged a meeting for Thursday, June 23, 1956, at the Chateau Gardens, in New York City, at which Comrade DENNIS would speak.

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[redacted] stated that attendance would be limited to invitation only and that the meeting would not be announced in the "Daily Worker". [redacted] also announced that a book entitled "In the Garden" was available at the bookstore (believed to be Book World).

[redacted] also announced that the next staff meeting would be held on June 21, 1956, at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, New York, to discuss the 1956 elections, unless someone could be found who had an air conditioner in their home, in which case the meeting would be held there.

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[redacted] announced that he would meet with six section organizers on June 25, 1956.

The following phonetic first names were mentioned at the instant meeting:

[redacted]  
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A photographic surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings Highway, on June 15, 1956, and photos of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts will be made to effect identification of these individual's photos. All individuals identified will be disseminated to the respective name case files and photos of unidentified individuals will be maintained in 100-26603-146509 pending identification.

PHOTOS OF

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-443)

FROM: SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

SUBJECT: CP, USA, District #2  
Kings County  
IS-C

DATE: 7/27/56

Identity of Informant: NY 1657-S\*  
Reliability: who has furnished reliable information in the past  
Date of Activity: 6/7/56  
Date of Receipt: 6/7/56  
Agent receiving: JOSEPH T. O'LEARY  
Location: 100-26603-Sub31

*furnished information*

NY 1657-S\* ~~advised~~ on June 7, 1956, that [redacted] at a meeting held on that date, at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP County meeting place, characterized that meeting as a meeting of the county staff.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] brought the meeting to order and proceeded to talk on the subject of the 1956 primary campaign in Brooklyn. [redacted] commented that the Party candidates in the Brooklyn area achieved very poor results in the primary election which he attributed to the general apathy of the voters everywhere and also the lack of Negro-White unity.

b6  
b7C

- 1 - [redacted] (100-52959) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-68554) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-92547) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-40394) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-100326) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-43258) (#20-11)
- 1 - LILLIAN GATES (100-24448) (#12-14)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-102794) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-98244) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-41319) (#12-14)
- 1 - [redacted] (100- ) (phonetic) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100- ) (phonetic) (#20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-114513) (20-11)
- 1 - [redacted] (100-61517) (#20-11)
- 1 - CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (100-79717) (#12-14)
- 1 - CP, USA DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION (100-89691) (#12-14)
- 1 - CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION (100-80640) (#12-14)
- 1 - CP LINE (100-95583) (#12-14)
- 1 - J. F. HIGGINS (#20-11)

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100-95583-313

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 27 1956	
FBI-NEW YORK	

JTO:ysl  
(2)(20)

*gjt*

MEMO TO SAC, NEW YORK

[ ] stated that two Negro candidates for State Office at the same time was too much and commented that the Jewish people foresaw a threat to their interests in the election of a Negro to Congress in the 10th Congressional District.

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[ ] was elected chairman of the meeting and introduced [ ] (believed to be [ ]).

[ ] stated that he was shocked at the results of the primary election program in the Negro community where the opposition candidate received 50% of the votes. [ ] stated that "even the people of our Party showed apathy in the primary election."

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[ ] commented on the general apathy of the voters all over and not only in Brooklyn and indicated that this apathy applied to other issues including the Negro liberation movement and Negro advancement in the Negro representation movement.

[ ] stated that the Negro people followed the lead of the major Negro leaders in backing the regular democratic organizations in hopes of gaining through them advancements of the Negro movements. [ ] stated that New York State CP had selected the 10th Congressional District in Brooklyn as one of the 10 national points of concentration, but indicated that it would have perhaps been better to have concentrated on the NY State Senatorial District in Brooklyn for the election of Negro candidates.

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[ ] stated that the results of the primary election showed that the Party was not the only group that was interested in the advancement of the Negro movement and that a reappraisal of the Party's approach to the 1956 elections and other work, must be made.

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[ ] spoke on the 1956 primary elections and pointed out that the Party did not choose candidates that the Negro people would support and did not start the primary campaign early enough.

MEMO TO SAC, NEW YORK

[redacted] stated that the members of the Party were not consulted in the formulation of plans for the campaign and as a result they did not support the campaign. [redacted] stated that the Party membership alleged that [redacted] is a Bureaucrat and that "the County Staff here are also Bureaucratic."

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[redacted] spoke on the 1956 primary elections and criticized the handling of it by the Party in general and the county staff in particular.

[redacted] made reference to 724 Nostrand Avenue in Brooklyn as one of the campaign headquarters utilized in the election campaign.

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[redacted] engaged in a rationalization of his handling of the campaign. [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] and [redacted] had complete charge of the forces in the Crown Heights and Flatbush areas in the campaign. [redacted] stated that the four campaign headquarters were distributed over the various sections so as to be centrally located.

[redacted] also mentioned that one of the campaign headquarters was located at 998 Fulton Street in Brooklyn.

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[redacted] stated that "if you had tried to pull people from Flatbush down to 998 Fulton, you would have gotten [redacted] (believed to be [redacted] and [redacted] believed to be [redacted] that is all." You wouldn't have gotten [redacted] or [redacted].

LIL (believed to be LILLIAN GATES) spoke on the 1956 primary election results and noted the very poor results achieved which she attributed to the lack of Negro-White unity.

[redacted] stated "this is the first time I have heard about my being Bureaucratic, but what is the role of the county organizer unless he stations key members and key mass figures in relation to develop this type of campaign."

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[redacted] stated that there was a problem with [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) and [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) and that BILL had come to him and asked for a loan

MEMO TO SAC, NEW YORK

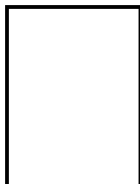
of \$200.00 to take [ ] away on vacation because she was having a nervous breakdown. [ ] added that the Party is not a social service organization but that something should be done in this case because they were pretty solid people and he wanted to keep them where they were in the Party.

b6  
b7C

[ ] stated that the matter should be taken up with [ ] and that [ ] might be made a section leader and then come through with something that they don't have now.

[ ] stated that his wife would start work on the 24th of June.

The following phonetic first names were mentioned at the instant meeting:



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A photograph surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings County Highway, Brooklyn, NY, on June 7, 1955 and photos of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts are being undertaken to effect identification of these individuals. Photos of individuals identified will be disseminated through the main case files and photos of unidentified individuals will be maintained in 100-26603-1A6509 pending identification.



TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)

SUBJECT: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

DATE: 7/27/56

On 6/7/56, NY 1733-S\* advised that a meeting of the Bronx Freedom of the Press Committee was held at the Crestmor Caterers, 105 East Burnside Ave., Bronx, NY, that date, from 3:45 p.m. to approximately 10:00 p.m. There were approximately eight people in attendance at the meeting of whom agents of the NYO have identified five.

The general discussion at this meeting was the arms for Israel question and how this topic could be used as a talking point with the Jewish Masses. According to the informant, the "party" was mentioned several times and those in attendance referred to each other as "comrade." During the discussion an unidentified speaker stated that they had lost touch with the Jewish people and should concentrate their efforts in an attempt to win favor of the Jewish Masses. Those in attendance were instructed not to dodge the issue of arms to the Arabs from Czechoslovakia and its effect on Israel, but to stress the need for arms for Israel from the US and to press for action by the US State Dept. to grant the sixty million dollars request for arms made by Israel.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - NY 100-123321 (Factionalism)
- 1 - NY 100-123322 (Education)
- 1 - NY 100-123323 (Domestic Administration Issues)
- 1 - NY 100-123319 (Internal Relations)
- 1 - NY 123313 (Legislative Activities)
- ① - NY 100-95583 (Line)
- 1 - NY 100-123317 (Membership)
- 1 - NY 100-123314 (Organization)
- 1 - NY 100-128812 (Political Activities)
- 1 - NY 100-123316 (National Groups)
- 1 - NY 100-123807 (United Nations)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C40

RTR:AJW  
(14)

100-95583-314

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 27 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-26603-C40

Re: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

The discussion also centered around the issue of pointing out that the Soviet Union wants peace between Israel and the Arab States and the "comrades" should point to the Soviet Union's recent cooperation in the UN in the attempts to bring about this peace. They were also asked to point out that the Soviet Union as a member of the Security Council of the UN would be required to vote on any plan for peace in the UN, and how the Soviet Union has advocated that all nations should accept the UN peace proposal pertaining to Israel.

The "comrades" were told to further strengthen their argument that they could refer to the peace statements made by KHRUSHCHEV and BULGANIN on recent trip to England.

On 6/13/56, NY 1788-S\* advised that a meeting of the Bronx Communist Party under the name of Bronx Freedom of the Press Committee was held that date at the Crestmor Caterers, 105 East Burnside Ave., Bronx, NY. At this meeting there were approximately thirty-five people in attendance of whom 28 have been identified by agents of the NYO.

Informant advised that the principal speaker was MAX WEISS who was introduced as "member of the National Board and our national education director." The meeting was set up to proceed as follows:

first

1. The/ hour of the meeting devoted to questions by the "comrades" and the answers coming from the "comrades" themselves. The rest of the meeting to be devoted to open discussion by the "comrades." Discussion by each "comrade" was to be limited to five minutes with no second round allowed unless there was no one else to speak.

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NY 100-26603-C40

Re: BRONX COUNTY CP  
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The "comrades" were informed that the CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT report on the 56 elections was available and could be obtained at the conclusion of the meeting. It was also stated that notes of this meeting were to be taken by some of the "comrades," not verbatim and no names used, but the general ideas set forth, so they could be forwarded to the "county, state, and national committees of the Party."

The first question was asked by an unidentified male and was in effect five questions and are as follows:

1. The whole question of the Jewish people within the Soviet Union specifically raised about the fact that KHRUSHCHEV reported so many Jewish people in the professions.

2. How come the Soviet leadership in the Soviet Union is not self-critical about themselves?

3. Was the question of Yugoslavia and what is the economic basis in Yugoslavia at the present time?

4. The question on the trials and executions that took place in the Soviet Union that was reported the month after the executions took place without any publicity about the trials whatsoever.

5. How come LENIN's letters in reference to STALIN were never published before?

Members of the meeting then attempted to answer the questions in the order of their being asked and in so doing great confusion resulted. In answer to the statement made by KHRUSHCHEV referring to the question on the Jewish people, one unidentified male answered that if it was true that such a statement was made that a

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-26603-C40

Re: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

clarification of the situation should be obtained but regardless of the clarification he, (the unidentified male) could not see under what conceivable situation such a statement would be justified. He further stated that they should get to answering the situations as they occur instead of trying to justify them simply because the Communist leaders in the Soviet Union said so. An unidentified female indicated that it was immaterial whether the statement was made or not but that anti-semitism has no place in any government society. The chairman of the meeting, who was unidentified, in an attempt to answer this controversy stated that first in reading the results of the 20th Congress and the closed KHRUSHCHEV speech he, the chairman, understood that many facets of life in the Soviet Union under the STALIN regime were to be re-examined and the people are being rehabilitated and new conclusions drawn. It was, therefore, his, the chairman's, opinion that the Jewish question was still one of the questions that is being re-examined and that it should be taken up in further discussion at a later date. The chairman continued that it was his opinion that the number of professionals based on the population of Jewish people against other populations in the Soviet Union/<sup>that</sup> KHRUSHCHEV pointed out that there was a higher percentage of professionals amongst the Jewish people which means there is a lag in professional education in the other populations. The chairman also stated that the "comrades" should be cautious and should bear in mind the sources from which these stories come and how the enemy would distort every word that is said in the Soviet Union from now on as it has done in the past.

An unidentified male then said to the chairman that it was their duty as "the Communist Party of America" to determine if this statement/<sup>was</sup> really made and if so that they (CP of America) should register a very strong protest

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NY 100-26603-C40

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IS-C

with the Soviet Union. Discussion then proceeded in the vain that the Daily Worker should publish these controversial questions first and not wait for instructions as to the method under which it should be presented. Discussion continued and an unidentified female made several caustic comments against the present Soviet leadership and the necessity of the "party" regaining the regard of the working class. She further stated that they (party) have to face reality, to face criticism since they have all sacrificed a great deal for this "party." It was her opinion that the "party" is facing a life and death struggle at this point.

Another unidentified female stated that a sort of paralysis has set in and that everyone is shocked by this most recent interpretation and how their having tied their lives in with "CP" all these years and now they are troubled by the fact that the foremost socialist country in the world could have been so motivated by such things. She stated that we as "American Communists" must determine what we are going to do about it. A tremendous change is taking place not only in the Soviet Union but in other socialist countries and a very difficult situation is developing.

Discussion continued with various individuals voicing their opinions more or less in support of what the previous "comrades" have been stating. One of their major problems appeared to be the recent KHRUSHCHEV report and its denouncement of STALIN, and the situation that existed under STALIN's regime having been condoned and made public. One unidentified female stated that the leadership is not leading and she did not know what they were doing. She indicated that they needed someone to raise the sections from five or six members to at least nine or ten. It was also her opinion, that before tackling the multitude of questions before them, they should first tackle the subject of the CP, and how they can build its membership and make it more attractive.

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NY 100-26603-C40

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IS-C

Throughout the discussions the comrades all appeared to be critical of leadership and how leadership has been keeping them in the dark. Several of those in attendance stated that periodic reports from leadership should be forwarded to all members.

The chairman, attempting to answer the questions regarding reports, indicated that the "section staff together with the club organizers" had debated whether a report could be given by someone from the "National Committee", and after the discussion it was determined not to give the report but to have the "comrades" participate in a discussion. A female identified as [redacted] indicated that the Party will have to reconsider who have their "tender hooks in the community and what organizations they have or haven't." She also stated that "what were they going to do with this thing called the Party. We created a monster." She stated that you can't bring people to a "bedragled party where they can't elect anybody, where the Constitution and the party is practically outmoted."

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The discussion continued very heatedly with criticism of leadership continuing and criticism of the Soviet Union and its attitude toward the American CP.

An unidentified male in defending the Soviet Union and its policies stated that the Italian CP had exactly the same policies on these very questions and they have "two and a quarter million members." He continued that the French CP had exactly the same policies and the "Communist Party in France" had several million members. He stated that whatever they are asking of the Soviet Union that they must be correct policies "in view of the members both in Italy and France."

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NY 100-26603-C40

Re: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

In answer to the unidentified male's statements defending the Soviet Union, an unidentified female stated that she had not resolved her whole thinking on the Soviet Union and frankly "I don't give one damn about the Soviet Union." She also stated "You'd have to convince me that the leadership in this country are pretty close to morons not to know of some of the things that are going on in the Soviet Union and are compromising their principles." This individual continued that the leadership was so lacking and so gutless that they would never hope to have a strong Communist Party unless they faced "reality." She continued that "the Communist Party did everything it could to form the CIO and perhaps if it were not for the Communist Party the CIO would not have come into being," and to prove her point she continued that the Party has declined to such a state that today there was "no place for the Communist Party in the CIO and someone still speaks of opening new horizons." This same individual in continuing her discussion on the KHRUSHCHEV report and KHRUSHCHEV's statements, stated that "the Party cannot take this new shock" and it was her opinion that they now had enough power to grasp for something real and should forget the Soviet Union and concentrate their efforts in building a strong CP in the US completely divorced from the Soviet Union.

Another unidentified female stated that for over the past ten years or so younger people of the "Communist Party have become a rarer and rarer phenomenon." They are now faced with a group of people who are in themselves of the Bolshevich type who had hoped to become leaders but find themselves as "followers." She continued that the word "collectivism" had been used as a "mace to beat anyone over the head with enough thought, with any initiative or with any courage to stand up and criticize and talk of anything." She continued that she did not "frankly think the Communist Party has a chance any more by itself." She also indicated that they were so ridden with the

Letter to DIRECTOR, FBI  
NY 100-26603-C40

Re: BRONX COUNTY CP  
IS-C

methods of organization and so colorless was their leadership that they could not possibly survive.

Her solution to the problem was a coalition with all socialist-minded Americans who are connected with any organization that has as its program or aim, whether potentially or honestly, socialism.

Several of the individuals discussed the inadequacies of the Daily Worker in presenting the problems and defining the issues and were rather critical of their present policy of sitting and waiting instructions rather than presenting the issues to the people.

The chairman in closing the meeting advised the "comrades", that in the next issue of "Party Voice" there will be a thirty-two page edition which will contain discussions of the last eight Committee meetings, and that many of the issues that were raised at this particular meeting would possibly be clarified. He also instructed the "comrades", that discussion of this nature was beneficial but that to have a more complete discussion, they should follow it up in their "clubs" where they have "three or four people down to a meeting", and they should continue during the summer through the Fall up to their "national convention." The meeting was ajourned at approximately 11:35 p.m.

Separate memoranda has been placed in the individual case files of the individuals identified by agents of the New York Office and case files opened on those individuals where one did not previously exist.



OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43)

DATE: 7/31/56

FROM : SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
DISTRICT #2  
KINGS COUNTY  
IS-C

Identity of Informant  
Reliability

NY 1657-S\*  
Who has furnished  
reliable information  
in the past

Date of Activity  
Date of Receipt  
Agent Receiving  
Location

6/6/56  
6/6/56  
JOSEPH T. O'LEARY  
100-26603 sub 31

NY 1657-S\* furnished information on 5/25/56, that an unknown individual during the course of a section organizer's meeting held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP county meeting place, announced that their next meeting would be held on June 6, 1956. NY 1657-S\* furnished the following information concerning this 6/6/56 meeting:

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[redacted] brought the meeting together and offered the following preliminary points for discussion:

I. The Negro vote in the recent primary elections and the underestimation of the division in the Negro leadership in the Negro areas of Brooklyn.

[redacted] pointed out:

- 1- [redacted] (100-52959) (#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-89816) (#19)
- 1- [redacted] (100-106300) (#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-52763) (#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-64035) (#20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-80540) (20-11)
- 1- [redacted] (100-40394) (#20-11)
- 1-CP, USA DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION (100-89691) (#12-14)
- 1-CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (100-79719) (#12-14)
- 1-CP LINE (100-95583) (#12-14)
- 1- [redacted] (100-92547) (#20-11)
- 1-Supervisor J.F. HIGGINS (#20-11)

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JTO:amc

(13)

100-95583-315

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 31 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

acc 19

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

1. The lack of Negro - White unity
2. The overestimation of the effect that the National Negro Civil Rights struggle would have on the white community in terms of getting a vote for a Negro candidate.
3. Underestimation of the support of the opposition in the Jewish communities.

II. the New York Times' article on the revelations concerning STALIN:

III. The main report of Comrade DENNIS to the NY State CP Committee.

[redacted] pointed out that there were four basic differences in the NY State CP Committee report and the National CP Committee report:

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1. The NY State report pointed out the criticism of left sectarian errors of the Party.

2. The NY State report makes a greater separation of the 1952-1956 period from the earlier period which the National Committee does not feel should be distinguished from.

3. The NY State report disagreed with the National Committee which makes the point that it was an error to have organized a third party nationally.

4. The NY State Committee report disagreed with the right opportunists on the Negro question.

An unidentified female, (possibly [redacted]), expounded on her experiences in Coney Island and pointed out that she felt very strongly about the disease of sectarianism that had plagued that area for ten years and the bad results that came about as a result. She pointed out that CP members should be active in community and mass organizations so that they could get closer to the masses of people. She stated that she had been very active in

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MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

the tenant's struggle years ago. She stated that at one time she had proposed setting up a headquarters in the Liberal Party on the theory that she could place the tenant's council in a more reflected light in the community but that as a result she was brought up on charges.

She stated that a lot of things prevented "us" from being close to the masses of people. She stated that the health and welfare of our country were her chief interests.

She stated that in Coney Island they required each of the comrades to fight on behalf of the Party and that 70 per cent of the comrades had cooperated. She stated that as a result one of the accomplishments was the creation of a mass organization club which was responsible for the transit struggle going on in that area and that on that very evening fifty groups in Brooklyn were united. She added that the mass organization had pulled together several isolated groups and that she had pulled a dormant comrade into the activity and that he is now one of the leading figures in the mass organization.

She stated that comrades had come into the club who had not had contact with the club for the past ten years. She stated that they had a difficult time in getting the Negro clergy into the movement and noted that there were no Negro Padres in the Party in the Coney Island area.

She concluded that there was a need for re-evaluation of section organizers and also greater development of section organizers.

[redacted], (believed to be [redacted]), stated that she had been going through droves of thinking.

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She stated that when she thought back twenty years to the time when she joined the YCL she recalled that the

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

reason was so that she could join hands with the working classes in the fight for socialism but that since then she had been propelled into working in the movement and accepted policies and programs without thinking. She stated that she was so effected by reading the "New York Times" report on the STALIN revelations that she asked herself the question "what am I doing in the Party."

She stated that since February and the time of the 20th Congress in the Soviet Union her thinking had been confused and that although she searched through the "Daily" (Worker) for some perspective she has still not found the answer.

She stated that when she "first came to Boro Park as a Section Organizer just a few months ago" she decided to tackle one thing and that was the working class mass organizations because very few comrades in Boro Park were in that type of work. She stated that she is already a member of two mass organizations, namely the Trade Union and the Parent's Teacher's Association and she felt that all the comrades should take part in the activities of mass organizations not for the purpose of boring from within but to work with them.

[redacted] asked [redacted] and [redacted] if they wished to speak.

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An unidentified female, (possibly [redacted]), stated that she was shaken by the 20th Congress of the CP in the Soviet Union and by the revelations concerning STALIN. She called for a democratizing of the CP in the USA.

An unidentified woman, (possibly the [redacted] referred to previously by [redacted]), stated that she was not prepared to speak but nevertheless spoke out against the cult of the individual and the acts of brutality on the part of STALIN.

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An unidentified individual referred to as GUS

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43

indicated that he had read the revelations contained in the "New York Times" article concerning STALIN and was deeply shocked and spoke of the necessary corrections that would have to be made in the CP in the US.

[redacted] spoke on the article in the "New York Times" concerning the revelations about STALIN and the brutalities practiced in the Soviet Union during the time of his leadership. [redacted] indicated, however, that he went along with the Marxism theory and stated "there are broad forces in this country who stand for socialism that can be amalgamated if they are not disillusioned despite the revelations concerning STALIN."

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An unidentified male referred to as [redacted] spoke and gave his views on the DENNIS and KHRUSHCHEV reports.

Another unidentified male spoke on the KHRUSHCHEV report and voiced his criticism of the STALIN regime.

[redacted] spoke and stated that on the following day the national board of the CP, USA would have its first meeting concerning the KHRUSHCHEV report. [redacted] stated that he was certain that all of the discussion that took place at the instant meeting would be incorporated into the discussion by the national board on the following day.

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[redacted] indicated that he agreed in part with [redacted] (possibly [redacted]) about the matter for self-criticism and he also felt that there was a certain international obligation on the part of the CP and the Soviet Union to Marxists all over the world. [redacted] stated that he could not help feeling that there was a certain amount of underestimation on the part of KHRUSHCHEV and others as to the impact with which these revelations would be reviewed.

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An unidentified individual announced that the next section organizer's meeting would be held on

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-043

June 15, 1956.

An unidentified individual commented that [redacted] s  
daughter is in something.

An unidentified individual commented that [redacted]  
wanted to speak to him and that [redacted] had something.

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The following phonetic first names were mentioned  
at the instant meeting:

[redacted]

(from Boro Park)

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8/1/56

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

FBI, BUFFALO (100-4379-92)

DIRECTOR, FBI

CP, USA  
DISTRICT NO. 2  
BUFFALO DIVISION  
CP LINE  
IS - C  
CINAL

- \_\_\_ SAC
- \_\_\_ DIV. 1
- \_\_\_ DIV. 2
- \_\_\_ DIV. 3
- \_\_\_ DIV. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 1
- \_\_\_ SEC. 2
- \_\_\_ SEC. 3
- \_\_\_ SEC. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 5
- \_\_\_ SEC. 6
- \_\_\_ SEC. 7
- \_\_\_ SEC. 8
- \_\_\_ SEC. 9
- \_\_\_ SEC. 10
- \_\_\_ SEC. 11
- \_\_\_ SEC. 12
- \_\_\_ SEC. 13
- \_\_\_ SEC. 14
- \_\_\_ SEC. 15
- \_\_\_ SEC. 16
- \_\_\_ 17
- \_\_\_ 18
- \_\_\_ 19

CP at Buffalo, N.Y., remains apprehensive and uncertain re establishment of new line. BU 140-S\* on 7/26/56, reported general speculation by [redacted] active in industrial CP section here, as to whether CP could succeed in becoming "associated with an American Socialist movement" and if so whether "the identity of the Party will remain." On 7/31/56, BU 185-S\* reported that IRVING GORE, full time CP Organizer at Buffalo engaged in similar general speculation. GORE said at one point "the question is how to move the whole class forward and do it by having a base for the movement whether it is revolutionary or not."

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ROCHE

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-92) (RM) (AM)
- 1 - Albany (CP, LINE) (RM) (AM)
- 1 - New York (CP, LINE) (RM) (AM)
- 2 - Buffalo (1 - 100-4379-92, CP, LINE)  
(1 - 100-4379-88, FACTIONALISM)

CJL:pan  
(7)

CO  
10-17  
100-95582-316  
19  
8/1/56

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C41)(20-13)      DATE: 8/3/56

FROM : SA CHARLES D. SHORES

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
 NY DIVISION  
 (QUEENS COUNTY CP)  
 IS-C

Source

[Redacted]

Reliability

Reliable

Location:

Instant memo (orally)

b6  
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b7D

On 7/27/56, [Redacted] advised that an Area 3, Queens County CP Staff meeting was held at the home of [Redacted] in [Redacted] Queens, on 7/26/56.

At this meeting were [Redacted] and the informant.

- 1 - [Redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-25864 [Redacted] (20-13)
- 1 - New York 100-13568 [Redacted] (20-13)
- 1 - New York 100-119285 [Redacted] (20-13)
- 1 - New York 100-51955 [Redacted] (20-13)
- 1 - New York 100-79717 (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)(19)
- 1 - New York 100-20802 (ABRAHAM J. MUSTE)(20-13)
- 1 - New York 100-4931 (CP, USA)(19)
- ① - New York 100-95583 (CP, USA-LINE)(19)
- 1 - New York 100-26603-C1844 (AREA 3)(20-13)
- 1 - New York 100-87211 (FACTIONALISM)(19)
- 1 - New York 100-89590 (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)(19)

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CDS:rlf  
(13)

*W.E.*

100-95583-318

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 3 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signature]*



MEMO  
NY 100-26603-041

According to the informant, [ ] led a discussion which was based on a speech given by [ ] CP State Functionary. [ ] did not state where or when the speech of [ ] was given.

[ ] said, [ ] gave the following account of [ ]'s speech.

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The National Board of the CP is at a loss as to what course to take in policy forming. Opinions of rank and file members must be obtained in writing and it is hoped that one of these opinions will have the key as to what course the CP will take.

The CP has three alternatives at the present time:

- 1) Dissolve.
- 2) Remain as the CP and concentrate on trade unions and mass organizations.
- 3) Change name and work with other liberal socialistic political parties already organized. The Liberal Party and the party led by MUSTE could be used for this purpose.

If the CP is to remain in existence, every effort must be made to make it a legal political party. In order to do this it may be necessary to change the name of the party.

The aim of the new party would be towards the struggle for socialism according to Marxist teachings alone and would exclude all traces of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism and the teachings of Engels.

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C41

If the CP could be made legal and if a favorable policy would be formulated, there are 2500 shop stewards in Michigan, 500 shop stewards in the garment district of NYC and 1000 shop stewards in the packing house unions, who are ex-Communists and who might be induced back into the CP.

In the future, the CP will have a changed policy in the manner in which a CP member can be expelled from the party. No evidence will be accepted verbally from only one person. Two or more persons must submit the evidence in writing. There will be only one reason for expulsion-- "Being an enemy of the working class."

The CP is over burdened by full time paid functionaries. In the future, no more than one-third of any committee should be paid full time by the CP.

(Because of the limited attendance at the Staff Meeting, extreme caution should be used in disseminating the foregoing information outside the Bureau.)

*file 1/8 to you 7-2*

- \_\_\_ SAC
- \_\_\_ DIV. 1
- \_\_\_ DIV. 2
- \_\_\_ DIV. 3
- \_\_\_ DIV. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 1
- \_\_\_ SEC. 2
- \_\_\_ SEC. 3
- \_\_\_ SEC. 4
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- \_\_\_ SEC. 6
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- \_\_\_ SEC. 15
- \_\_\_ SEC. 16
- \_\_\_ SEC. 17
- \_\_\_ SEC. 18
- \_\_\_ SEC. 19
- \_\_\_ SEC. 20

AIRTEL  
XXXXXXXX

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100-4379-92)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-92)

RE: CPUSA, DISTRICT #2, BUFFALO  
DIVISION, CP LINE  
IS-C - CINAL

DATE: AUGUST 3, 1950

On 8/2/50, BU 140-S\* reported on a discussion between IRVING GORF, fulltime organizer for CP in Buffalo area, and [redacted], active in Industrial CP Section in Buffalo, which concerned the stand taken by CP leaders on the KHRUSHCHEV report.

GORF stated that "DENNIS's viewpoints are in the middle between IOSTER and GATES..... DENNIS's views are probably the ones with the most support in the Party." GORF then said that discussions should be held one night a week to discuss the KHRUSHCHEV report and other reports.

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED AM)
- 1 - Albany (CP LINE) (REGISTERED AM)
- 1 - New York (CP LINE) (REGISTERED AM)
- 2 - Buffalo (1 - 100-4379-92)  
(1 - 100-4379-93, RATIONALISM)

JSH:ave  
(7)

100-95583-317

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

[redacted box]

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)  
FROM : SA [redacted] (7-4)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY USA  
DISTRICT NUMBER TWO  
IS-C

DATE: 8/6/56

Source: [redacted]

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

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b7D

Date of Activity: 6/13/56

Date Received: 6/21/56

Received By: [redacted]

Location: [redacted]

Information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless same has been paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

- 1 - [redacted] (P&C) (7-4)
- 1 - 100-26603-C 320 (CP, KINGSBRIDGE SECTION)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-124262 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-89402 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-75418 (SAM COHEN)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-120276 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-123930 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1 - 100-26603-C 40 (CP USA, BRONX COUNTY)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP USA LINE)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-49162 (CPSU)(6)
- 1 - 100-120128 ("PARTY VOICE")(12-14)

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b7D

JPH: dn  
(12)

100-95583-319  
SEARCHED... INDEXED...  
SERIALIZED... FILED...  
AUG 7 - 1956  
FBI - NEW YORK

NY 100-26603

By report dated 6/18/56, [redacted] reported on a CP meeting of the Kingsbridge Section (Northwest Bronx, NY) which took place on 6/12/56 at the apartment of [redacted] [redacted] Bronx, NY. Informants report refers to a letter issued to all Bronx County members in attendance at the above meeting and this letter furnished by the informant is being placed in 100-4931 as an exhibit.

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C O P Y

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.

June 18, 1956  
New York.

Activities.

A meeting of the Communist Party Club of the Kingsbridge Section (Northwest, Bronx, N.Y.) took place on June 13th, 1956 at 2971 Marion Ave. Bronx, N.Y. at the apart. \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_

The following members were present at this meeting:

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\_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. The meeting was chaired by \_\_\_\_\_. \_\_\_\_\_ read "a letter to all Bronx County members" (enclosed) on the question of "a major party discussion" which is providing "the basis for an American Marxist program to be acted at the next National convention" of the Communist Party U.S.A.

In a short discussion on the above mentioned letter the meeting expressed satisfaction "with the fact" that "under the impact of the 20th congress (C.P.S.U.) our party decided to take a new look and that the party membership is getting a full major of freedom of discussion."

\_\_\_\_\_ expressed his opinion that "the era of rubber-stamping decisions in our party is definately comming to an end."

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The club decided to hold discussions on all subject outlined in the Bronx County C.P. letter at it's regular meetings throught the summer of 1956 and to send all of it's decisions and conclusions to the C.P. county Board and to try to have some of the material published in the "Party Voice."

C O P Y

Att #1 to 100-95553-319 *Don*

C O P Y - 2

A short discussion took place on the question of contacting inactive C.P. members of this club and former members of the C.P. in the area of this club.

The club accepted the proposal of [ ] to postpone this action until after Labor Day. She said that she tried to contact 2 people and that she couldn't get them: "one is out of town for the summer" and the other one "just couldn't be reached - always out."

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[ ] led a discussion on the "Present-day economic condition of the U.S." She tried to bring out the point that "the economic situation in the U.S. at the end of 1955 and up to this day reached a "high point" but this "economic prosperity is a big business prosperity: Big business made unheard of profits, but labor did not share in this big business boom. The fact is that while big business reaped tremendous profits labor suffered a larger number of unemployment in 1955-56 than in 1953."

She also underlined that the "middle class and small business were also excluded from this big business prosperity. Why? Because this is the contradiction of capitalist society".....

She also tried to bring out that "a tremendous role played in this big business boom is the 40 billions spending by the government on so called national defense - the military budget." She underlined that "this artificial prosperity is actually leading the country, in the long run, to a sharp economic crisis and when this crisis will come it will come with such a bang that it will shake monopoly capitalism to its very foundation. No country in the world, not even this country could stand the strain of spending 40 billion dollars

C O P Y - 2

C O P Y - 3

year after year on bombs and planes and tanks without shattering it's economy. The picture would look different if the same amount of billions would be spent on consumer materials, on improving the health of the nation, on education, building of highways and on expansion of foreign trade. Why than doesn't big business, which is controlling this administration, adopt such a program which would still afford big profits and at the same time insure, at least for a while longer, the security of the present economic system? Well, I believe that we must come to the same answer-capitalist contradiction."

She concluded her remarks with: "I believe that without realizing it monopoly capitalism is the force which is helping here as in other capitalist countries the achieving of Socialism. Lenin long ago wrote: "The greediness of capitalism will lead it to it's destruction." A lively discussion developed on this subject.

[ ] agreed that "large military expenditures, from an economic point of view creates an unhealthy economy which must lead the nation to an economic crisis" and that "capitalism itself will be responsible for the coming of an economic crisis, but it would be oversimplifying to state that monopoly capitalism is leading the world to a socialist economy. As Marxist we know that socialism will be readied through the struggle of working class for socialism. We might achieve socialism in this country through peaceful means by wining over to our side the majority of the people but this could be achieved only through class struggle. As far as the economic situation in the U.S. is concerned I think it is to early to foretell when and how an economic crises will come. But when it will come it will be something like the explosion of a H-bomb and when this will happen we must be ready to direct it in such a manner that capitalism will be placed in a position of no-return." [ ] stated that of course "big military

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C O P Y - 3



C O P Y - 4

budgets are creating an unhealthy economy but it is foolish to speculate that this could lead to an economic crisis of great magnitude. The Soviet economist, Vargo, once predicted an economic crisis in the U.S. which will come shortly after World War II. Any one who disagreed at that time with Vargo was considered an enemy of communism. These so called enemies got scared and stoped ~~arguing~~ arguing. I disagreed with Vargo but I didn't talk. Vargos theory is the ash can today and we could talk about it. I believe that a 40 billion military budget isn't so disastrous when we take in consideration that we have something like a 200 billion income. One more thing progressive capitalism, and this what american capitalism is today, could find a way to underwrite the 40 billion military spending by adopting a program of industrial expansions, the building of highways, etc. The U.S. economy could easily swallow the 40 billions and go on without going through an economic crisis which, as some of you think, will create a vacuum of an H-bomb explosion. The building of socialism here will have to be based on something else not on the coming of an economic crisis."

Because of the late our it was decided to continue this discussion at the next meeting of the club which will be on June 27th, 1956 at the apart. of [ ] at [ ], Bronx, N.Y.

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- J. Morris

C O P Y - 4

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M \* \* \* \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 7-3-56

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

Re New York teletype dated June 24, 1956, captioned, "Communist Party - USA, Organization. IS - C; CINAL."

Referenced teletype contained a summary of the second day of sessions of the three-day meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22 through 24, 1956. The following constitutes the details of the second day of sessions of this three-day meeting, as furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on June 23, 1956:

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following persons were in attendance at the sessions held on Saturday, June 23, 1956:

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 3 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, International Relations)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 3 - Newark (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, International Relations)
  - (1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED]

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See la page for additional copies.

100-95583-320

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 5 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten initials]*

*New York*

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION

29 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Line)
- (1 - 100-81752) (CP - USA, Brief)
- (1 - 100-80641) (CP - USA, Organization) (#19)
- (1 - 100-86624) (CP - USA, International Relations)
- (1 - 100-87211) (CP - USA, Factionalism)
- (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
- (1 - 100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)
- (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
- (1 - 100-110840) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE)
- (1 - 100-13472) (GIL GREEN)
- (1 - 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
- (1 - 100-19723) (JOHN GATES)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.)
- (1 - 100-50983) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-64755) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-28609) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-9573) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN)
- (1 - 100-66211) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-20649) (ED STRONG)
- (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-54899) (LEON WOFSY)
- 3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, International Relations)
  - (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)
- 3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - USA, International Relations)
  - (1 - 100- ) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 5 - Chicago
  - (1 - A/134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)

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*JEK*  
JEK:kw  
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DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION

PHIL BART  
AL BLUMBERG  
GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY  
MORRIS CHILDS  
BEN DAVIS, JR.  
EUGENE DENNIS

[REDACTED]

FRED FINE  
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER  
JOHN GATES  
JAMES JACKSON, JR.  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

JACK STACHEL

SID STEIN

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[REDACTED]

ED STRONG

[REDACTED]

MAX WEISS

CARL WINTER

LEON WOFSY

Change in the Agenda

CG 5824-S\* advised that the session held on Saturday, June 23, 1956, was supposed to deal with organization, and the main report was to be given by the New York Communist Party District; however, the Administrative Committee of the National Committee met with National Committee members such as LIGHTFOOT, WINTER, SCHNEIDERMAN and [REDACTED], who do not reside in New York City. This meeting of the Administrative Committee was held prior to the opening of the second day of sessions of the National Committee. The Administrative Committee decided to postpone until Sunday the discussion on organization and to discuss on Saturday a draft statement concerning the report of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

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Draft Statement on the 20th  
Congress of the CPSU

CG 5824-S\* advised that everyone present at this National Committee meeting was given a copy of a draft statement or resolution on the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This statement was prepared by MAX WEISS. Soon after the copies of this draft statement were distributed, the meeting adjourned for lunch so that those present would have time to read over the statement and would be prepared to discuss amendments during the afternoon.

The following is the text of this draft resolution:

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"The publication by the State Department of the text of KHRUSHCHEV's speech to a closed session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU has given a fresh impetus to the already widespread discussions in our country about the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The tendency of these discussions, in fact, prompted the State Department to make this text public. For, regardless of ideological differences with Communism, the people of our country are beginning to see even more clearly that vast changes are taking place within the Soviet Union. They greet these changes. And the State Department is alarmed. It would like our people to believe that nothing has changed in the Soviet Union. Only in this way does it see any hope for keeping alive the disintegrating remnants of the cold war. But, as has often been noted, the State Department continues to live in an unreal world. The real world of nations and peoples anxious for peaceful co-existence welcomes the determination expressed in KHRUSHCHEV's speech to end a period of Soviet life in which the noble and lofty aspirations of Socialism were distorted by brutalities and injustice. It is this determination to make impossible a repetition of the crimes against individuals, groups and nations which took place during the Stalin era which increasingly impresses the American people. It is beginning to evoke an expectant and sympathetic attitude among larger sections of the American people to every move by the Soviet leaders to implement this determination.

"The growth of this mood among the American people is what puts the State Department in a cold sweat. It was in the vain hope of checking this mood that the State Department published KHRUSHCHEV's speech to the close session of the 20th Congress. The State Department wants the American people to believe that the tragedies, crimes and injustices which took place during the Stalin era are evils which are inherent in Socialism. But it is absurd to think that the Cadillac Cabinet or its State Department is opposed to Socialism because of this, even if it were true -- which it is not. FRANCO's crimes against Spanish people does not prevent the State Department from extolling the 'merits' of fascist Spain.

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"The unspeakable corruption, degeneracy and rottenness of CHIANG KAI SHEK does not seem to bother the State Department. The Cadillac Cabinet and its State Department hate the Soviet Union for a different reason. They hate it because under Socialism there is no production for profit, because the factories, mines and mills are taken away from the millionaires and owned collectively by the people. Socialism abolishes the profit system and exploitation. That is the 'inherent evil' of Socialism which makes them hate it.

"The crimes against innocent people perpetrated under STALIN's leadership, are, in fact, alien to Socialism. They interfered with the full development of Socialism, with it's most rapid progress. That is why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is acting resolutely to put a stop to them, to inaugurate changes which will make them forever impossible in the future. Socialism requires an ever expanding Democracy, the growth of human freedom and personal liberties, the development of conditions which ultimately eliminate altogether the need for the use of force in the relations between people. We Communists know this. We have been and will continue to be the proud supporters of Socialism in every country in which it exists. We have fought and we will continue to fight against the efforts of big business to calumniate and vilify the Socialist countries. We are not and never will be neutral in our attitude to the Soviet Union or to any country in which the people are building Socialism. Our patriotism is deepened by our internationalism. That is why we, above all, are profoundly disturbed by the revelations which begun to be made at the 20th Congress and which are contained in detail in KHRUSHCHEV's speech.

"The abhorrent brutalities listed by KHRUSHCHEV as taking place over a span of twenty years haunt the conscience of all adherents of Socialism. We are greatly disturbed that KHRUSHCHEV's speech to the 20th Congress on this subject was not released by the CPSU itself and, instead, was allowed to be made public by the enemies of the Soviet Union. We do not share the

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opinion that the questions dealt within this speech, no matter how painful and disagreeable, are exclusively the internal affair of the CPSU alone. The role which the Soviet Union has played in world affairs for the last forty years, and the struggle of the Socialist-minded workers of the United States and other Capitalist countries to popularize and defend the Socialist achievements of the USSR against its enemies have made these questions issues of public struggle within the labor movement in all countries.

"A basic analysis of how such perversions of Socialist Democracy, justice and internationalism were permitted to develop and continue unchecked for twenty long years must still be made by the leadership of the CPSU. KHRUSHCHEV's speech, while it is a bold and courageous contribution to the exposure of mistakes and the process of self-correction which is now going on, makes only a beginning in fulfilling the responsibility of Marxist self-critical analysis. As Marxists we cannot accept as valid an analysis of such profound mistakes which attributes them to the capricious aberrations of a single individual, STALIN, no matter how much arbitrary power he was wrongly permitted to usurp. For this simply reverses the cult of the individual with only this difference, that whereas previously all the achievements and grandeur of Socialist progress were ascribed to a single individual, now all the mistakes and violations of Socialist principle are ascribed to a single individual. In our opinion, the mistakes made were a result of wrong policies which were incorrectly accepted and followed by the entire leadership of the CPSU.

"This remains true even though STALIN may have been the initiator of these wrong and harmful policies. Otherwise we find it impossible to understand why the rest of the leadership did not oppose these policies and take steps to reverse them before so much harm was caused. We are also concerned with the failure of KHRUSHCHEV's speech to expose and analyze mistakes made by the CPSU in respect to the Jewish question. While we are fully conscious that the Soviet Government and the CPSU has made historic contributions in

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creating a new life for the Jewish people in the Soviet Union, we are disturbed by facts revealed in information coming from Poland that organs and media of Jewish culture were dissolved under the influence of assimilationist theories. The Communist Party of the United States also has some serious conclusions to draw from these revelations. For we are responsible to the working class and people of our own country. And to them we say frankly and self-critically that we blindly justified certain foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union which are now shown to have been wrong and harmful to the cause of Socialism. Our mistakes on this score weakened our fight to advance the cause of Socialism in our country. It interfered with our ability to more effectively rally wide masses for a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, a policy which is imperative in the best national interests of our country. Our responsibility, which we began to discuss at our last National Committee meeting, is to re-examine our previously oversimplified and wrong concept of the relations which should exist between the Marxists of various countries, including the Socialist countries. These relations must be based on the principle of equality of parties, the right and duty of the Marxists of all countries to engage in friendly criticism of the theory or practice of the Marxists of any country whenever they feel this is necessary. Such a policy is dictated by our Marxist principles. It will strengthen the ability of our party to advance the struggles of the American people for economic security, Democratic freedoms, civil rights, a Democratic foreign policy and the building of a mass party of Socialism in our country."

Comments of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

CG 5824-S\* advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was the first speaker during the discussion on this draft statement. While FOSTER thought that the draft statement was all right, he said that it has the characteristic weakness of all resolutions and all articles which have been written concerning the speech by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. Even the speech, itself, has the same characteristic weakness. In the words of FOSTER, this characteristic is that "it don't tell how it happened."



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According to FOSTER, there are four elements which would account for the development of the Stalin cult in Russia: 1) There is a traditional lack of Democracy in Russia. There was never a struggle for Democracy in Russia in the old days and there has never been a struggle for Democracy by the labor movement in Russia. 2) The political factors. Russia was a backward nation which was encircled by a hostile world. It was engaged in many civil and other wars. In the old days an autocracy flourished in Russia and later a bureaucracy ruled in Russia. This bureaucracy used discipline and repression in order to put over the economic and political programs. This was the material basis for the development of the cult of Stalin. 3) The ideological factor. STALIN had a tremendous following. We of the American Party went along with STALIN because we believed in his ideology. We were convinced that ideologically STALIN was doing the correct thing. Then FOSTER stated that you cannot rule unless you are able to convince people. He said that even BROWDER in the Communist Party - USA ruled chiefly through ideology. He had people convinced that he had the right policy. TITO was correct in fighting the extreme Russian nationalism but we were convinced that TITO was wrong because we had accepted the ideology which was put forth by STALIN. 4) The STALIN personality, which must be taken into account. As LENIN described him, STALIN was rude and rough and built himself a powerful machine. The Russian Party is responsible for STALIN just as we were responsible for BROWDER. After a certain period of time, the Russians were not able to dislodge STALIN. They thought that if they tried to dislodge him, they might cause a serious split in the CPSU. FOSTER stated that eventually nature took care of STALIN. He said that it was claimed that at the time that KHRUSHCHEV made his speech to the Executive Session, some delegates shouted, "Why didn't you shoot him?" FOSTER stated that in his opinion, shooting STALIN would not have helped. The reason for this is that a man with such a following would still have had the masses behind him and his slaying would have created a terrible situation in Russia as long as the people believed in the policies of STALIN.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON followed FOSTER in the discussion. He stated that he thought that the draft statement could serve as a useful basis for a final statement or resolution; however, he

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wished to propose some changes. He stated that he would like the statement to indicate that the Soviet Union has achieved material sufficiency and thus has laid the foundation for the advance of Democracy. He also suggested that the Communist Party - USA take some paragraphs from the statement issued by the Communist Party of France, particularly that portion of the French statement which deals with the historical role of STALIN. He also suggested that the Communist Party - USA take some of the essence of a letter by GIL GREEN and introduce the essence of GREEN's comments into the Party statement, particularly that portion of GREEN's letter which deals with the explanation of the development of the cult of personality.

Letter From GIL GREEN

CG 5824-S\* advised that a one-page, typewritten document was passed out to those persons who were in attendance at this National Committee meeting. It was announced that this document was a letter which GIL GREEN had written concerning KHRUSHCHEV's speech to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The following is the complete text of this document which was passed out at this National Committee meeting:

"I finally saw the State Department version of K's speech. What a sickening business! What crimes were committed! And yet K's speech, while it had the intention of smashing what he chose to call 'the cult of the individual' - and I'm sure will go a long way in that direction - itself betrays a certain 'cult of the individual.' Why? Because he does not go into the historical objective factors that made possible the perversions of justice.

"And yet these must be understood or else what is left unanswered is the charge that the socialist system itself breeds terroristic methods. What happened in the Soviet Union can only be understood on the background of the peculiar 'trick' of history in which the least industrially prepared country of Europe was destined to first take the socialist path. This, coupled with the constant danger and fear of outside intervention led to forced methods of industrialization and collectivization against apparently strong

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internal resistance. In turn, these methods aroused the opposition and resentment of many which alone can explain the apparent sickly fears of Stalin and the resort to terroristic measures against all opposition or criticism in the leadership.

"Even after the consolidation of a socialist economy and the need for the withering away of the state aparatus - at least movement in that direction - the fear of outside attack led to a continuation of the methods of terror. Of course, had there been real collective leadership, had there not been the special weaknesses of Stalin in respect to compelling his way regardless of consequences, the frightful distortions that occured would not have taken place.

"But the point I'm making is that at one stage apparently these same qualities of Stalin are what brought him and kept him at the top. Now, however - and for some time past - what has been needed is a greater all-round democratization and a steady ending of all dictatorial methods. It is in these objective conditions and in the shocking exposures of how much harm was caused by one man rule and by abuse of power that lie the guarantees against repetition. Also, now that the socialist lands are so strong, it is not necessary for those who wish them success to blindly support their every acts on their specific leaderships. We should support the socialist principles of collective ownership of production, prove their superiority, but not feel called upon the support every policy, act or leadership of socialist countries."

Remarks of

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CG 5824-S\* advised that BILL NORMAN was the next speaker during the discussion. He stated that on the whole he thought that the proposed statement is a balanced one. He stated, however, that he favored the inclusion of some statements that would strengthen the expression of the attitude of the Communist Party - USA toward the Soviet Union. In this regard he said that he thought the statement was not strong enough. He also stated that he thought that the article by EUGENE DENNIS which appeared in the June 18, 1956, issue of

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the "Daily Worker" negated the line of the "Daily Worker". NORMAN said that things today are different from what they were even a week ago. It is, therefore, necessary to overcome the negative effects of the article of EUGENE DENNIS. He suggested, therefore, that when this draft statement is finally worked out, that it should contain a statement in which the Party endorses the line of the "Daily Worker".

NORMAN also mentioned that there are many lessons to be learned from the mistakes which have been made by the CPSU. In this connection he talked about bureaucracy and the development of a cult of personality in the Communist Party - USA. He also stated that the Communist Party - USA must make its own analysis and that the American Party will have to show its independence from the Russian Party.

Remarks of FRED FINE

The next speaker during the discussion was FRED FINE. FINE stated that the Communist Party - USA should learn some lessons from other Communist Parties and that the Communist Party - USA should include in its statement some things which have been contained in the statements of other Communist Parties concerning the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The informant commented that in this regard FINE quoted from the statement of PALMIRO TOGLIATTI and from the statement issued by the Communist Party of France. Then FINE asked, is our examination adequate. Answering his own question, he said that he thought that it was not adequate. He said that he thought that the Communist Party - USA should say, as TOGLIATTI said, that the Russian Communist Party leadership is as responsible as STALIN was. He then asked what are the objective results of all this. He said he thought that TOGLIATTI gives the answer to this question. According to FINE, as a result of the fact that other Communist Parties are standing up to and criticizing the Russian leadership, the various Communist Parties can now state that new areas for work are opening up. For example, TOGLIATTI said that the international structure of the Communist movement is changing today. This means, of course, that the other Communist Parties are not subordinate to the Russian Party or to an international party dominated by the Russians.

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FINE asked whether or not the Communist Party - USA should go beyond other Communist Parties in its attitude toward the Russians with regard to the report of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. He stated that in some matters it is his opinion that the Communist Party - USA should go beyond other Communist Parties in its attitude toward the CPSU. In this connection FINE mentioned the Jewish question. He stated that the Communist Party - USA should ask the CPSU why some Jewish writers were executed. FINE stated that this would be a concrete question. It would be a question similar to the question raised by the Communist Party of Great Britain. He said that the British Communist Party had talked about capital punishment and the need for its abolition in Russia. FINE stated that the Communist Party - USA should make a statement similar to that made by the British Communist Party on capital punishment.

Next FINE stated that the line of the "Daily Worker" expresses the majority thought of the National Committee. He said that we were the first Party to print the alleged KHRUSHCHEV speech. Yet, we are the last Communist Party in the Western world to issue a statement about this speech. FINE stated that he thought that the Communist Party - USA should point out that the "Daily Worker" was the first paper to print the speech by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. FINE stated that he thought that this was a positive achievement and that the Communist Party - USA should capitalize on it. He also said that he thought that the Communist Party - USA should give an explanation to Party members and say that the National Committee and the "Daily Worker" are not at logger-heads. He stated, however, that by this he does not mean that the national leadership should endorse everything which has appeared in the "Daily Worker" but in regard to the speech by KHRUSHCHEV, the national leadership should give credit to the line adopted by the "Daily Worker". He said that by doing this, it would also reflect credit on the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA.

Remarks of AL BLUMBERG

BLUMBERG was the next speaker and stated that the draft statement is at least a starting point for a Party statement; however, there are some grave weaknesses in the draft statement. BLUMBERG stated that in his opinion the statement should begin with an emphasis on the interests of the American

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people. The statement should contain something about peace and co-existence. Next the statement should reflect what steps the Party is taking within its own ranks to correct the wrongs which have been admitted during the discussion on the 20th Congress of the CPSU. He also opposed a sentence which contains information that the American people greet the changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union. BLUMBERG said that it would be more correct to say that the American people are concerned about these changes, but the American people do not as yet greet these changes.

Next BLUMBERG stated that he thought that the sentence in the draft statement which states that the Communist Party - USA will never be neutral toward the Soviet Union should be deleted from the Party statement. BLUMBERG said that such a statement would be subject to an incorrect interpretation and people would say that the Communist Party - USA is loyal to the Soviet Union.

In concluding his remarks, BLUMBERG suggested some other amendments pertaining to changes in the use of language. With regard to the "Daily Worker" he stated that he agreed with the opinion expressed by FRED FINE. According to BLUMBERG, a dangerous situation in the Party will result if the Party members suspect that there are differences between the National Committee and the staff of the "Daily Worker".

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

BLUMBERG was followed by EUGENE DENNIS. DENNIS stated that while the draft statement will need considerable editing, it is his opinion that the substance or the main approach as reflected in this statement is more or less correct, and that he is in agreement with it.

DENNIS went on to say that perhaps we ought to consider the preparation of two statements. One of these statements would be for the Party membership, and the other statement would be a more or less explanatory statement for public consumption. DENNIS also stated that he thought that the statement of the Communist Party - USA should contain something with regard to the building of Socialism in the USSR in line with the statement of the Communist Party of France in regard to the fact that Socialism is being built in the USSR. DENNIS

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also thought that the statement should include something with regard to peace, co-existence and the non-inevitability of war.

DENNIS also thought that the statement should reflect that there has been an expansion of Democracy in the USSR. With regard to the sentence in the draft statement that the Communist Party - USA would never be neutral toward Russia, DENNIS stated that he disagreed with AL BLUMBERG's suggestion that this sentence should be deleted. On the contrary, he thought that there should be an expansion of the point on proletarian internationalism and that the draft statement should contain a quotation from ABRAHAM LINCOLN. (CG 5824-S\* commented that the Party has previously used a quotation from ABRAHAM LINCOLN in which he states that next to family loyalty there should be international loyalty).

DENNIS further stated that he thought that the draft statement should contain some mention of the role which the Soviet Union has played in regard to peace. DENNIS also said that he thought that the statement should include the fact that the National Committee had previously met and discussed the results of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. He stated that the exact date of this last National Committee meeting should be set forth in order to show that discussion was not limited to the time immediately preceding the issuance of this statement.

In concluding his remarks, DENNIS stated that the Communist Party - USA should emphasize that the American Communist Party is an independent Party based on Marxist principles. He also stated that the Party should remind the public and the members of the Party that the American Communist Party has been talking about an American or a Democratic path to Socialism, and that the Communist Party - USA was the pioneer in outlining this path to Socialism.

Remarks of LEON WOFSY

LEON WOFSY made a few remarks in which he stated that Communism needs an ideological explanation for its errors and the Communist Party - USA should show how the world leaders of the various Communist Parties participated in these errors. He said that we have to place collective responsibility without

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at the same time diminishing STALIN's peculiar role in the distortion of Socialism. With regard to the "Daily Worker" he said that he would endorse a few positive things which have been accomplished by the "Daily Worker" during this discussion on the 20th Congress of the CPSU, but that he would not endorse the general line of the "Daily Worker".

Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER then spoke and stated that the draft statement would serve as a basis for a Party statement. He said that it does give a correct line; however, with regard to endorsing the general line of the "Daily Worker", he was opposed to doing this. WINTER stated that before he would endorse the general line of the "Daily Worker", he would want to have before him all the editorials, articles, etc., which the "Daily Worker" has published concerning the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

WINTER suggested that the statement should emphasize the role of the USSR in fighting for the abolition of the Atom and Hydrogen Bomb tests and also for the abolition of the use of nuclear weapons. WINTER said that this would show that the Soviet Union has humanitarian aims and that it would also answer charges that Communism does not concern itself with humanism and that inhumanity is inherent in Communism.

WINTER then suggested some technical changes in the language of the draft statement and said that instead of mentioning the Stalin era, he would change it to the Stalin leadership.

In the latter portion of the draft statement, he would change the word "blindly" to "uncritical". WINTER also thought that the last few sentences in the draft statement were inadequate.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL was the next speaker during the discussion, and he stated that the surprising thing is not that we are having disagreements, but rather that we have so much unanimity. STACHEL stated we have to keep in mind that the



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report of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV disclosed one of the most important events in the Communist world, that it shocked every Communist and that every Communist Party has felt the effects of this shock.

STACHEL stated that he thought that the "Daily Worker" is carrying on a polemic against EUGENE DENNIS. He stated that in one of the editorials appearing in the "Daily Worker" the paper stated that it was having some differences with some prominent contributors. STACHEL stated that this could only be a reference to EUGENE DENNIS. With regard to the article of EUGENE DENNIS which appeared in the June 18, 1956, issue of the "Daily Worker", STACHEL stated that he thought that, in general, the article was all right; however, it ignored the objective reasons for the mistakes which were made in the Soviet Union and it took KHRUSHCHEV's report too much for granted.

STACHEL stated that it is necessary to be careful in the final preparation of this Party statement so that language will not be used which would make good headlines in the enemy press. STACHEL also stated that while he agrees with the general line in the article of June 18, 1956, by EUGENE DENNIS, he also thinks that there were some correct statements made by the staff of the "Daily Worker". At this point STACHEL stated that he is saying these things because he wants to bring about some unity of thought and to bridge the differences which have been expressed at this meeting.

Next STACHEL made a few remarks about the need for a Bill of Rights under Socialism. He stated that this is a very important point which should not be ignored. It is not just an abstract matter. He said that we can see now why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ceased to play the role of a Marxist - Leninist Party. Something happened to the CPSU as a result of its composition, its methods of work and the relation of the Party to the state.

CG 5824-S\* commented that in general the remarks of JACK STACHEL constituted a sort of unity plea, inasmuch as he sensed the explosive atmosphere between the forces of DENNIS and the forces of JOHN GATES.

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Remarks of BEN DAVIS, JR.

The informant advised that BEN DAVIS made a few general remarks in which he merely agreed with the line of the draft statement. He said he did not think that the National Committee should endorse the general line of the "Daily Worker".

Remarks of JOHN GATES

JOHN GATES was the next speaker. GATES said that he is in general agreement with the draft statement and that he believes that it should be published. He said he thought that there was room for some improvement in the statement, and that it should be kept in mind that the statement was drafted a few weeks ago and at that time was placed before the members of the National Committee who reside in New York City.

GATES stated that while some persons present at this meeting did not know it, he wished to inform them at this time that he resigned as the Editor of the "Daily Worker", although his resignation has not as yet been accepted. At any rate, he wanted everyone present to know that he had tendered his resignation.

GATES stated that in the article of June 18, 1956, EUGENE DENNIS committed some errors. These errors resulted from the fact that DENNIS deleted from the original article some statements by MAX WEISS which were to serve as the basis of DENNIS' article. These deletions concerned criticism of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. GATES stated that instead of criticizing KHRUSHCHEV, DENNIS criticized the "Daily Worker" instead. GATES said that this is a political matter of serious consequence.

Next GATES admitted that the editorial which spoke of disagreement with prominent contributors was a reference to EUGENE DENNIS. GATES said that the American Communists need a critical approach to the land of Socialism and to the other Communist Parties. He said that there has been disagreement with the line of the "Daily Worker" with regard to criticism of the CPSU. The "Daily Worker" does not dodge criticism. The "Daily Worker" may have made some mistakes

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and both [redacted] and the staff of the "Daily Worker" have admitted that they have made some mistakes. GATES said that he is ready to say that some things which appeared in editorials in the "Daily Worker" are wrong but on the other hand we should, with pride, shout that the "Daily Worker" treated the 20th Congress of the CPSU as it should have been treated as early as March of 1956.

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With regard to the line adopted by the "Daily Worker", GATES stated that the criticism of the Soviet Union as a result of the 20th Congress has been confirmed by other prominent Marxists in the Western countries. GATES stated that the Communist Party - USA should call attention to the role of the "Daily Worker" in this regard. He said that if the National Committee includes an endorsement of the line of the "Daily Worker" in this Party statement, everybody will benefit and it will unify the Party.

Next GATES said that we owe a vote of thanks to the United States State Department for the publication of the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV. It was through the publication of this speech that the various Communist Parties of the world were emancipated. For the first time other Communist Parties are taking issue with the Soviet Party.

GATES said that he is against including in the Communist Party statement that part of the statement of the Communist Party of France, which states that the Russians have completed the building of a Socialist system. He would go as far as saying that the Russians are on the road to building a Socialist state, but not so far as to say that they have created a Socialist state. They have not as yet completed a Socialist state, at least not the kind of state which Communists dream about. GATES stated that there was no material basis for the violation of Democracy in the Soviet Union.

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GATES went on to say that there may have been historical reasons which would explain the violations of democracy but we can never speak of a material base for the violation of democracy. The capitalist press says that we are interested only in the violation of democracy in Russia as it concerns Communists; however, we should explain that we are concerned with Communists and non-Communists alike in anything pertaining to repression. As far as bureaucracy is concerned, it has existed for a long time in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union just as it has existed right here in the American Communist Party. Bureaucracy is written into the American Communist Party Constitution. Why? Because we give power to the political bureau, the political bureau decides all. This is the defect common to all Communist Parties in the world.

Remarks of SID STEIN

GATES was followed by SID STEIN. This was the first time that STEIN had participated in the discussion at this National Committee meeting. STEIN made a plea to reduce the differences which had become apparent at this meeting. He stated that it was necessary to do this in order to permit the National Committee to issue a statement on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union immediately.

Remarks of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

BILL SCHNEIDERMAN then took the floor. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that he could not agree to the inclusion of anything in the statement which would show that the National Committee is in agreement with the line of the "Daily Worker". SCHNEIDERMAN stated that he is a member of the National Committee, that National Committee members cannot base their remarks on innuendoes and that he has not been properly informed on what is occurring in the National Office. As an example SCHNEIDERMAN stated that he did not know about the differences between the members of the National Committee and the staff of the "Daily Worker".

Next SCHNEIDERMAN stated that the Party is late in issuing this statement concerning the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He stated that the Party leadership is in an intolerable situation. It is being

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criticized everywhere by the rank and file, by the lower functionaries, and by almost all active Party people. He stated that he is surprised that "the enemy" has not utilized this intolerable situation to its own advantage. Next SCHNEIDERMAN stated that there is distrust and there is disillusionment with the Party leadership. According to SCHNEIDERMAN, the debate which is finding reflection in the "Daily Worker" is a disgrace, especially the debate between the "Daily Worker" and the General Secretary of the Party. SCHNEIDERMAN said that he would not vote for a document which endorses the general line of the "Daily Worker" until he is given all of the facts. He, too, suggested that the phrase which states that the Communist Party - USA would never be neutral toward the Soviet Union should be deleted from the statement.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was the next speaker. He stated that the discussion taking place at this National Committee meeting is setting a bad example for the Party. The National Committee is not demonstrating to the membership how criticism and self-criticism and a system of collective leadership should be conducted.

LIGHTFOOT stated that he thought that EUGENE DENNIS is in a compromised position because he did not submit the article, which appeared in the June 18, 1956, issue of the "Daily Worker", to the Administrative Committee of the National Committee for review. CG 5824-S\* commented that very few persons present at this meeting knew of the fact that EUGENE DENNIS had sent this article to the "Daily Worker" without submitting it to anyone else for review.

LIGHTFOOT went on to say that the aim of the Communist Party - USA is to reach the American people. He insisted that some paragraphs of the letter by GIL GREEN, or at least the essence of the letter by GREEN, should be included in the final draft of this statement. LIGHTFOOT then read a few sentences from the letter by GREEN.

LIGHTFOOT stated that he is concerned about the independence of the American Communist Party and that he is also concerned about what the American people think about the

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Communist Party - USA. According to LIGHTFOOT, the fact remains that the Communist Party - USA never criticizes the Soviet Union but it always finds time and space to criticize the United States Government. LIGHTFOOT stated that we have to somehow or other show the American people that we are not foreign agents, that we do criticize the Soviet Union, and therefore, we should reassert our independence by criticizing KHRUSHCHEV and others.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] CG 5824-S\* advised that the next speaker was [REDACTED], who made a very few remarks, the essence of which were that he thought that this draft would serve as a basis for a final statement.

Remarks of ED STRONG

According to the informant, ED STRONG made a few remarks, in which he stated that he did not favor the inclusion of an endorsement of the line of the "Daily Worker" in this Party statement.

Remarks of [REDACTED]

According to the informant, [REDACTED] was the next speaker but merely said a few words. He was in favor of the inclusion of an endorsement of the line of the "Daily Worker" in this Party statement.

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Remarks of MARTHA STONE

MARTHA STONE was the next speaker in the discussion, and she complained about a lack of collectivity. She stated that she thought that the June 18, 1956, article by EUGENE DENNIS should have contained a notation that it was an article for discussion. She said that this was necessary because an article by the General Secretary of the Communist Party - USA is always interpreted as a collective statement of the national leadership. As far as the "Daily Worker" line is concerned, she stated that she favored that it be mentioned in this Party statement if only to endorse the role of the "Daily Worker" in regard to the speech of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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Remarks of MAX WEISS

CG 5824-S\* stated that at this stage of the discussion MAX WEISS made a sort of summary. He stated that he thought it might be advisable to include in the statement a few words about the line of the "Daily Worker". He stated that if these remarks about the "Daily Worker" are phrased in the proper manner they would have political value. That is, the Communist Party - USA could point out that the "Daily Worker" did raise the question of the KHRUSHCHEV report in a correct manner.

WEISS stated that he did not favor the inclusion of any portion of GIL GREEN's letter in the statement. He stated that GREEN's letter would need more explanation, that a part of the letter is vulgarized and oversimplified.

WEISS then made a few remarks about the lack of criticism in the past. He stated that the Communist Party - USA did not criticize either the Communist Party of the Soviet Union nor the Soviet Union in the past. He stated that he thought that the reason for this was that the Communist Party - USA was afraid that criticism has its own logic and that the criticism would not end as a criticism of some particular thing but would end in a criticism against this or that Socialist country, particularly the Soviet Union.

Comments of CG 5824-S\*

CG 5824-S\* stated that almost everyone present at this meeting, if they did not take part in the oral discussion, handed in written suggestions for amendments to the draft statement or for changes in phraseology.

A committee of four, consisting of JOHN GATES, WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, MAX WEISS, and CARL WINTER, was selected. This committee was to meet at the close of this session and take into consideration both the oral and written suggestions for amendments to the draft statement. By 11:00 on the morning of Sunday, June 24, 1956, they were to have a statement prepared which could be ready for publication on either Monday or Tuesday, June 25 or 26, 1956.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

To: Director, FBI (100-408387)

Date: 7/12/56

From: SAC, Boston (100-29585)

Subject: SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA  
IS - SUA

Re Boston letter to Director 11/17/55, captioned SWP, IS-SWP and SUA, IS-SUA.

[redacted] on June 4, 1956, advised that on June 3, 1956, he had contacted the Rev. [redacted] who at that time was known to the Boston Branch, Socialist Workers Party, as the Chairman of the Eugene Debs Club of Greater Boston. The purpose of Informant's contact was to attempt to gain [redacted]'s confidence, obtain an invitation from [redacted] to attend meetings of the Debs Club, and ultimately infiltrate into the group to determine its aims, objectives and personnel.

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(25)

- 2 - Bureau (100-408387) (RM)
- ⑦ - New York (RM)
  - 1 - 100-116907 (SUA)
  - 1 - 100- [redacted]
  - 1 - 100- [redacted]
- ④ - CP, USA and pertinent subdivisions
  - 1 - Detroit (100-22644) (RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco (100-39168) (RM)
  - 1 - Los Angeles (100-48950) (RM)
  - 1 - Seattle (RM)
  - 1 - Cleveland (100-21473) (RM)
  - 1 - Buffalo (100-11877) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (100-28621)
  - 1 - Milwaukee (100-12304)
  - 8 - Boston

*CPUSA-line*  
*" - organization*  
*" - factionalism*

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- [redacted] (100-25736)
- [redacted] (100-19797)
- [redacted] (100-1843)
- [redacted] (100-11574)
- [redacted] (100-13373)
- [redacted] (100-11198)
- SUA (100-29585)

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100-95583-321

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JUL 16 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*JWH*

Indexed to 100-29585: Frank Martin  
Worcester, Mass.



BS 100-29585

It is noted that on April 15, 1956, plans of the Boston Branch, SWP, as set forth in referenced letter, were changed and Informant, rather than another member of the Boston Branch, SWP, was assigned by [redacted] that branch, to contact [redacted] not as a Trotskyist but rather as a "left-wing floater" or "do gooder." b6  
It was the desire of [redacted] that Informant learn the relationship b7C  
between [redacted] and the Eugene Debs Club on the one hand, and the Cochranites (SUA) on the other. Further, Informant was to gather information concerning the club personnel with the intention of eventually recruiting the desirable elements into the SWP.

Informant advised he had contacted [redacted] on June 3, 1956, as an individual interested in advancing socialism and one not affiliated with any organization. He had informed [redacted] that the contact was based on the fact that he had recently observed an article by [redacted] appearing in the April issue of "The American Socialist." b6  
Informant advised that after approximately one hour of general b7C  
conversation, he had again mentioned having read [redacted]'s article and [redacted] had replied he had written several articles for that magazine. [redacted] mentioned also that there was a group of individuals in Boston who adhered to the ideas portrayed in that magazine and that the group was to meet Thursday, June 7, 1956, at the 2nd floor, 9 Lowell St., North End, Boston, apartment of [redacted]. Informant advised that [redacted] invited him to attend this meeting, stating that the discussion would concern LENIN's "State and Revolution." Informant advised that [redacted] mentioned [redacted] and himself as being among the regular members of the group.

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According to Informant, [redacted] made no mention as to the specifics discussed by the group other than the fact that the group studied the works of MARX and LENIN "with the right to criticize." [redacted] stated that the group advocated an "American brand of socialism," i.e., one not foreign derived or directed, but made no further comment concerning the aims or objectives of the group. He stated that the group did not currently have an official name and that "it is a group whose current officers are temporarily appointed pending the obtaining of a charter from a national organization; namely, the SUA." He noted that he was currently temporary Chairman of the group. He stated that the group contemplated that in the future a representative from the National Office of the SUA, New York, would visit Boston to inspect the group, and that following the visit the group would be accepted as a charter member of the SUA.

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Concerning [redacted] Informant noted that during the June 7, 1956 meeting mentioned above, he had learned that [redacted] was no longer associated with the Eugene Debs Club of Boston.

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Informant was instructed to continue his efforts to obtain further specifics concerning the group, its personnel and its activities.

Subsequently, on June 19, 1956, Informant furnished a report concerning his attendance at the above-mentioned June 7, 1956 meeting held at the 9 Lowell St. apartment of [redacted]

It is noted that Informant's report contained information to the effect that this group had corresponded with SUA Headquarters, New York, concerning the obtaining of a charter and that current plans are that a representative from the SUA will visit Boston in the Fall, 1956. Further, according to Informant, during the meeting those present composed the following announcement of the June 21, 1956 meeting, which announcement [redacted] was to type and mail to subscribers of "The American Socialist" in the Boston area:

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"There will be a meeting of the Boston Branch Socialist Union of America, Thursday, June 21, 1956. Sponsored by The Friends of American Socialist. 8:30 P.M. at 9 Lowell St. (2 blocks from No. Station). The evening's topic will be 'Aims and Purposes of the Boston Branch SUA' led by [redacted]

"Please try and make it.

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"Fraternally,

[redacted signature block]

Informant's report on this June 7, 1956 meeting, in part, is as follows:

I. ATTENDANCE

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] - member  
[redacted] - member  
[redacted] - member

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Informant advised that [redacted] who to the knowledge of Informant is not a member of the group, had also been present at the meeting on the invitation of [redacted] and that during the meeting [redacted] had announced that he is sympathetic to the political ideas expressed by the group to date.

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## II. MEETING AGENDA

### A. Reading of the Minutes

Informant advised that after [redacted] of the group, called the meeting to order at 8:30 P.M., [redacted] temporary [redacted] read the minutes of the previous meetings of the group, two in number, which had been held May 10 and 24, 1956.

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Informant advised that prior to the reading of the above minutes, [redacted] had advised him that the organizational session responsible for creating this "unofficial" Boston Branch of the SUA had been held May 7, 1956, in apartment 5, 23 Chambers St., Boston, an apartment according to Informant, which [redacted] frequently utilizes as a mailing address and as sleeping quarters. According to [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] had been present at the meeting and that plans had been made to hold the first meeting on May 10, to be followed with bi-weekly sessions on every other Thursday.

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### May 10, 1956 Meeting.

According to the Informant, [redacted] reported that this initial meeting was held at 23 Chambers St., Boston. that it was attended by [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] and that the feature of the meeting was the election of three temporary branch officials: [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] position not named. It is noted that the announcement of the June 21, 1956 meeting mentioned above lists [redacted] as [redacted] [redacted] of the group.

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According to Informant, these three individuals comprise the three member Executive Committee of the group and will retain their respective positions until such time the branch is issued a charter and officially becomes a branch of the SUA, or such time that the numerical strength of the branch increases to the extent that such an election would be warranted.

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May 24, 1956 Meeting

Informant advised that [ ] reported that this second meeting of the group was held at 23 Chambers St., Boston, and attended by [ ] and FRANK MARTIN. He stated that it was decided at this meeting that until the group obtains its charter from the SUA, future meetings of the group would be held at the 9 Lowell St. apartment of [ ]. At such time that a charter be granted, the branch would then seek a permanent headquarters in downtown Boston.

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[ ] announced that the members present at this May 24 meeting approved a motion to have [ ] write a letter to the SUA's top leader, [ ] to announce that the group in Boston now includes more than the minimum number of five members, the number reportedly necessary to qualify it to become a full-fledged party branch. [ ] in the letter was to extend an invitation to [ ] to send to Boston at his convenience a member of the SUA's National Executive Committee to "inspect" this Boston group and its personnel, grant or deny the charter, and hold an internal meeting with the members of the local group.

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[ ] announced he had written the letter to [ ] on May 26, 1956, and received an answering communication from [ ] dated May 28, 1956.

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B. May 28, 1956 [ ] to [ ] Letter

Informant advised that during the June 7, 1956 meeting, [ ] reported to those present on the contents of the above communication. [ ] advised that [ ] had set forth the following qualifications to be met, according to the Constitution of the SUA, prior to the granting of charter to groups desirous of forming SUA branches:

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1. Agreement with "general" political orientation of the SUA;
2. Acceptance of the terms of the Constitution of the SUA and adherence to its various laws and rules;
3. A minimum of five members in the group, all of whom announce their intention to abide by the Constitution and "in general" agree with the over-all political program of the SUA.

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[ ] stated that [ ] in his letter agreed to send a member of the SUA's National Executive Committee to Boston to inspect the group, its facilities, and its personnel. [ ] further advised that [ ] had recently been present at the SUA National Headquarters and suggested that [ ] be present at the branch meeting when the branch is visited by the SUA's National Executive Committee representative. [ ] further requested that the branch pay as much as possible of the representative's actual expenses incurred during his visit to Boston.

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Informant advised that the above National Executive Committee member was not identified in [ ]'s letter. Informant further stated that the wording in [ ]'s letter indicated that [ ] considered the granting of a charter to the Boston group a mere formality and that as much time as necessary should be taken by the group to organize itself and to increase its membership prior to setting a definite date for the Boston visit by the SUA's National Executive Committee representative.

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Informant advised that following the reading of the above communication, the members present agreed to postpone scheduling the visit of the above representative of the SUA to Boston until September or October, 1956. Informant stated that the reasons for the delay included:

1. The nearness of the summer session which normally sharply curtails activities and meetings.
2. The fact that the group has set down no prescribed program for obtaining financial income.
3. No funds currently available to pay for the trip to Boston of the SUA's National Executive Committee member.

#### C. Financial Report

[ ] remarked that each branch member will be required to pay dues of \$1 per month when the group becomes an official branch of the SUA. He stated that of the \$1 collected, 75¢ will be sent to the SUA National Office and 25¢ will be retained as one source of branch income. Informant advised that [ ] suggested that a second method of obtaining income should be via voluntary individual donations from members and sympathizers attending the branch meetings, which method was approved by those present.

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Other than the above, Informant advised that the discussion during the meeting produced no definite decisions as to methods to be utilized to produce income.

D. Report by [redacted] on the SUA

Informant advised that according to [redacted], the information set forth in section D below had been obtained by [redacted] during personal conversation with [redacted] exact date unknown. Informant noted, however, that during the June 7, 1956 meeting he had learned from [redacted] that [redacted] in May, 1956, had conferred for two days with [redacted] and [redacted] - name used by [redacted] prior to split with SWP) at the SUA's National Headquarters, Rm. 306, 857 Broadway, New York City, N.Y.

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1. Report on "The American Socialist"

Informant advised that according to [redacted], the SUA has not been mentioned in issues of "The American Socialist" to date but that in the near future, exact date not stated, "The American Socialist" will name the SUA as its sponsor.

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[redacted] stated that 2,000 copies of each monthly issue of this magazine are currently being printed and that including Informant's subscription, there are 21 subscribers in the Boston area. He stated that a one year subscription (12 copies) costs the subscriber \$2.50, that the yearly cost to the SUA for each of the 2,000 copies being printed is \$4, and therefore the SUA is currently publishing "The American Socialist" at a loss of \$1.50 on a yearly basis.

In connection with the above, [redacted] made mention of a "direct appeal" by "The American Socialist" for funds, the purpose of which is to attempt to absorb part of the publishing costs of the magazine and thereby relieve the National Office of the SUA of this item of expense. [redacted] further suggested that the Boston group make a sizeable financial contribution to this "direct appeal" and present it to the National Executive Committee's representative if the latter's Boston visit is postponed until the Fall.

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2. Report on the SUA

[redacted] reported that the National Headquarters of the SUA is located at New York City, N.Y., and that branches of the SUA are

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located in the following cities: New York City, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Buffalo, Chicago, Flint, and Milwaukee. He reported that the Detroit Branch is reportedly the branch with the greatest number of members.

[redacted] also reported that the SUA sponsors so-called "reading groups" in other major United States cities, unnamed, which do not have officially chartered branches.

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### 3. The SUA and the Communist Party

[redacted] reported that the leaders of a Communist Party branch in one unidentified but reportedly major United States city had approached the leading members of the SUA branch in that city and recommended to the latter that the two groups (Stalinists and Cochranites) plan and carry out together a "joint activities program." According to Informant, [redacted] made no mention as to the specific task the two groups might carry out under this proposed joint program.

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[redacted] further reported that the Communist Party, USA, recently on a national scale had adopted a completely reversed attitude toward the SUA. He noted that from the inception of the SUA until the new Stalinist orientation was adopted a few months ago at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the American Stalinists were "openly hostile" towards the Cochranites, but that now the CP, USA is "openly friendly" and cooperative and is calling for an "alliance" with the SUA.

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[redacted] reported that [redacted] is reportedly pleased with this new Stalinist attitude and that he, [redacted] and other SUA national leaders welcome the opportunity to collaborate and join forces with the American Communist Party in future propaganda and agitation tasks.

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### 4. SUA National Convention

According to [redacted], the SUA Constitution states that the SUA will hold a national convention once in every two year period. He stated that the first convention was held on July 4, 1954, and that the second SUA national convention will be held in late

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November or December, 1956. He predicted that the convention will be held at Detroit, Michigan, due to the size and numerical strength of the Detroit branch.

Informant advised that [redacted]'s report was followed by the educational lecture presented by FRANK MARTIN which was based on the contents of V. I. LENIN's "State and Revolution." Informant advised that following the lecture a general discussion took place concerning the lecture and concerning the agenda for the next meeting, scheduled for June 21, 1956. Informant noted that the "educational" for the June 21, 1956 meeting was to consist of a panel discussion led by [redacted] on the subject, "Aims and Purposes of the Boston Branch, SUA."

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Informant advised that this June 7, 1956 meeting was adjourned by [redacted] at 10:55 P.M.

Identification of Members of "Unofficial" Boston Branch, SUA

Informants utilized in identifying these members have all furnished reliable information in the past.

Rev. [redacted]  
(Bufile 100-66967)

[redacted] on July 1, 1955, advised that [redacted] was a member of the SUA.

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[redacted]  
(Bufile 100-247803)  
and a Security Index Subject, Boston Division

[redacted] on January 4, 1954, advised that [redacted] was a CP member 1946-48.

[redacted] in September, 1953, advised that [redacted] was expelled from the CP in 1953 because he failed to follow CP policy with respect to the union campaign.

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[redacted] Boston Division (protect identity) on March 30, 1954, advised that [redacted] was no longer a member of the Communist Party.



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[redacted]  
(Bufile 100-196287)  
and a Security Index Subject, Boston Division

[redacted] on July 14, 1954, advised that as of that date [redacted] was a dues paying member of the Communist Party, USA, District No. 1. Other informants have reported [redacted] as joining the CP 1943; a member, 1944; a member of the CPA, 1945; and contributing to CP or CPA, 1945-1950.

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[redacted]  
(Bufile 100-240494)

[redacted] in interview with Boston Agents Sept. 20, 1954, advised that he had been a member of the CP 1942-1948, when he resigned following the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law. [redacted] has been reported as President of the Salem North Shore Branch of the CP, USA, District No. 1, 1946 and 1947.

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[redacted]  
(Bufile 100-37681)  
and a Security Index Subject, Boston Division

[redacted] Boston, on June 2, 1955, stated that [redacted] is not and never has been, to the best of his knowledge, a CP member. He stated that the CP leadership of Boston usually approached [redacted] through a third party to adopt its views on various questions of social moment, and usually got her to follow the CP propoganda line on those questions. [redacted] has been reported by other informants as Treasurer of the Progressive Party of Massachusetts, 1949 through 1951, and Chairman that group, 1951 through 1955.

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[redacted]  
(Bufile 100-385227)

[redacted] on June 19, 1956, advised [redacted] was known to him as a member of the PAUL ROBESON Club of the LYL in 1949-50.

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[redacted] on May 8, 1951, advised that the LYL had tried [redacted] on charges of white chauvinism in May, 1951, and that [redacted] became disgusted before a decision was reached and walked out of the trial.

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FRANK MARTIN

The files of the Boston Division contain no information identifiable with FRANK MARTIN other than his association with instant group.

[redacted] on July 5, 1956, advised that another meeting of the above group had been held June 21, 1956, at the [redacted] apartment of [redacted]. Informant advised that the educational lecture presented by [redacted] concerned "Aims and Purposes of the SUA's Boston Branch." According to the Informant, the following are some of the highlights of [redacted]'s lecture:

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1. Revise, modernize and Americanize Marxist, Leninist terminology in order to increase the appeal of socialism to the American working class, i.e., use appropriate Americanized substitute for such words and word combinations as "bourgeoisie," "petty bourgeois," "proletariat," "dictatorship of the proletariat," "the masses," etc.
2. Approach "the workers" in the Boston area on their own level in language they understand and they themselves use.
3. Deal with the local workers in the realm of their own specific problems and omit relating their problems to those of the working class on a national or international scale.
4. Emphasize to the workers that the Boston group advocates an "American brand of socialism" for Americans only, and that the group and its political program are not foreign, oriented, directed or controlled.
5. Omit, deny, and refuse all references to and all ideas on internationalism in dealing with local working class groups and programs.
6. Omit quoting historical and contemporary foreign Communist and socialist figures such as MARX; LENIN, STALIN, etc.
7. Introduce local workers to socialism with references to already existing modified forms of socialism currently practiced and advocated in the United States; e.g., Social Security, socialized medicine, free higher education.

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Informant advised that during the meeting further discussion had taken place with respect to the date the National Executive Committee representative of the SUA should visit Boston, but that no definite decision had been reached. Informant advised that the remainder of the meeting concerned topics of local interest.

Further that

Informant advised further that during the course of the June 21 meeting [ ] had made overtures to him to join the group, and that Informant contemplates accepting membership at the next scheduled meeting.

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[ ] has furnished reliable information in the past and is a highly sensitive source of the Boston Division. Accordingly, information furnished by this informant must be handled with the utmost discretion.

Boston will continue to follow the activities of the above group and its personnel and endeavor to determine the identity of other individuals associated with the group, and to determine whether the group obtains a charter from the SUA.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 6-29-56

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

6/24  
3rd day

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the informant.

Registered

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Albany (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Atlanta (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 4 - Buffalo (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Strategy in Industry)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, USWA)
- 2 - Charlotte (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Cincinnati (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Cleveland (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Dallas (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 3 - Detroit (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100-16906) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
- 2 - El Paso (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Houston (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)

(Cont. page 1a)

100-95583-322

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>mkc</i>	FILED <i>mkc</i>
JUL 5 1956	
FBI - CHICAGO	

*[Signature]*

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DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

(Cont.)

- 1 - Knoxville (Registered)  
(100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Miami (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 3 - Newark (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED]
- 2 - New Orleans (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 37 - New York (Registered)
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP - Organization) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-74560) (CP - Fund) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80640) (CP - Negro Question) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81338) (CP - Security Measures) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-81675) (CP - Pamphlets and Publications) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-79717) (CP - Political Activities) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89691) (CP - Domestic Administration Issues) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-86624) (CP - International Relations) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-89590) (CP - Strategy in Industry) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-80638) (CP - Membership) (#19)
  - (1 - 100-26603) (CP - District #2)
  - (1 - 97-169) (Publishers New Press)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Gominfil, ILWU)
  - (1 - 100-84935) (Gominfil, Railroad Industry)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Gominfil, NAACP)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Gominfil, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
  - (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
  - (1 - 100-110840) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE)
  - (1 - 100-19723) (JOHN GATES)
  - (1 - 100-50983) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-64755) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-28609) [REDACTED]

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(Cont. page 1b)

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

(Cont.)

- (1 - 100-9573) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN)
- (1 - 100-66211) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-20649) (ED STRONG)
- (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-54899) (LEON WOFSY)
- (1 - 100-81752) (CP - Brief)
- (1 - 100- ) (CP - Line)
- 2 - Norfolk (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 3 - Philadelphia (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Richmond (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - San Antonio (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - San Diego (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 5 - San Francisco (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Gominfil, ILWU)
  - (1 - 100- ) (LOUISE TODD LAMBERT)
  - (1 - 100- ) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 2 - Savannah (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 5 - Chicago
  - (1 - A)134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE MACK LIGHTFOOT)

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*JEK*  
JEK:MKR  
(97)

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re New York tel captioned, "CP, USA - ORGANIZATION; CINAL" dated June 25, 1956. This tel contained a summary of information concerning the proceedings on the third and last day of sessions of the three day meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA which was held in the Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City, from June 22 through June 24, 1956.

The following constitutes the details of the proceedings of this third day of the meeting as furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on June 24, 1956:

Persons in Attendance

CG 5824-S\* advised that the following persons were in attendance at the session held on Sunday, June 24, 1956:

PHIL BART  
AL BLUMBERG  
MORRIS CHILDS  
BEN DAVIS, JR.  
EUGENE DENNIS

[REDACTED]  
FRED FINE  
JOHN GATES  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]  
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

[REDACTED]  
JACK STACHEL  
SID STEIN

[REDACTED]  
ED STRONG

[REDACTED]  
MAX WEISS  
CARL WINTER  
LEON WOFSY

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Informant advised that ED STRONG was the Chairman of the Sunday session.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Statement of the National Committee  
of the CP, USA

It will be recalled that at the Saturday, June 23, 1956 session of this National Committee meeting, there was a sharp debate concerning what should be contained in a statement to be issued by the CP, USA in regard to the speech by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU. A committee of four consisting of JOHN GATES, WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, MAX WEISS, and CARL WINTER had been appointed on June 23 to prepare a compromise statement and have it ready prior to the session of Sunday, June 24, 1956.

This committee of four brought in a compromise statement and stated that this statement had the unanimous consent of this committee of four. A few copies of this statement were passed around at this meeting and the committee of four announced that if this statement was adopted at this meeting it should be adopted prior to 3:00 p.m. so that it could be released to the press.

Since the statement was an obvious compromise, except for a few changes by EUGENE DENNIS in the choice of words, no other changes were suggested and this National Committee meeting adopted this statement unanimously.

CG 5824-S\* had learned that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT had told EUGENE DENNIS, in a private conversation, that DENNIS should give in a little on his previous stand against criticism of Russia.

The following is the complete text of this statement which was released to the press and will be circulated among the membership of the CP, USA for the purpose of showing that the leadership of the Party is not split on policy toward Russia:



DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

"MONDAY AM, JUNE 25, 1956

"STATEMENT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

"Adopted at its regular meeting in New York City  
on June 24th, 1956

---

"The publication of the State Department's text of Khrushchev's speech to a closed session of the 20th Congress of the CPSU has given a fresh impetus to the already widespread discussions in our country about the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

"The State Department would like Americans to believe that nothing has changed in the Soviet Union. It hopes to cancel out the positive impact of the 20th Congress, which registered, among other things, a new relationship of world forces, opening up for the first time in history, the real prospect for a lasting peace. It hopes in this way to keep alive the disintegrating remnants of the cold war.

"However, the people of our country who desire peaceful coexistence cannot but welcome the actions taken by the Soviet government since Stalin's death as well as the determination expressed in Khrushchev's speech to end the brutalities and injustices which marred a period of Soviet life.

"The State Department wants the American people to believe that the tragedies, crimes and injustices which took place during the Stalin era are evils which are inherent in socialism.

"But the crimes against innocent people perpetrated under Stalin's leadership are, in fact, alien to socialism. They were an intolerable hindrance to the advance of socialism. Socialism is dedicated to the liberation of mankind from social injustice and to releasing the full capacities for the flowering of humanity. It requires

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

an ever-expanding democracy, the growth of human freedom and personal liberties, the development of conditions which will ultimately eliminate altogether the use of force in the relations between people.

"We have been and will continue to be the proud supporters of socialism everywhere. We have fought and will continue to fight against the efforts of big business to calumniate and vilify the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"We Communists know that socialism must eradicate the inhumanity of capitalist society. That is why we, above all, are deeply shocked by the revelations contained in Khrushchev's speech.

"In our opinion this speech should have been made public by the CPSU itself. We do not share the view that the questions dealt with, no matter how painful and abhorrent, are exclusively the internal affair of the CPSU. The role which the Soviet Union has played in world affairs for the last 40 years, and the defense of its socialist achievements by workers in the US and other countries have made these matters public issues everywhere.

"A basic analysis of how such perversions of socialist democracy, justice and internationalism were permitted to develop and continue unchecked for twenty years must still be made by the leadership of the CPSU. It needs also to be made by Marxists everywhere. Khrushchev's contribution to the exposure of mistakes and to the process of correction now going on, makes only a beginning in this direction.

"We cannot accept an analysis of such profound mistakes which attributes them solely to the capricious aberrations of a single individual, no matter how much arbitrary power he was wrongly permitted to usurp. It is just as wrong to ascribe all the mistakes and violations of socialist principle to a single individual as it was to ascribe to him all the achievements and grandeur of socialist progress in the USSR.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

"In our opinion the mistakes made were primarily a result of wrong policies and concepts arising in part out of the fact that the Soviet Union was the pioneering land of socialism and was surrounded for decades by a hostile capitalist world. Some of these policies and concepts have already been repudiated. But the historic objective factors associated with these errors need to be more fully assessed. Also required is a further and deeper examination of such questions as the structure and operation of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as of the new problems and perspectives arising as the workers of other lands move toward Socialism. This will illuminate the source of past errors and help avoid future ones.

"We are deeply disturbed by facts revealed in information coming from Poland that organs and media of Jewish culture were summarily dissolved and a number of their leaders executed. This is contrary to the Soviet Union's historic contributions on the Jewish question. Khrushchev's failures to deal with these outrages, and the continuing silence of Soviet leaders, requires an explanation.

"The Communist Party of the US has some serious conclusions to draw from all this. For we are responsible to the working class and people of our own country. And to them we admit frankly that we uncritically justified many foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union which are now shown to be wrong.

"We have begun to reexamine our previously oversimplified and wrong concept of the relations which should exist between the Marxists of various countries, including the socialist countries. These relations must be based on the principles of serving the best national interests of each people and the common interests of all progressive humanity; of the equality of parties; of the right and duty of the Marxists of all countries to engage in friendly criticism of the theory or practice of the Marxists of any country, whenever they feel this is necessary. Far from weakening, this will strengthen international working class solidarity. This new approach was reflected in the DW as early as last March as well as in the position adopted by the national Committee at the end of April.

DIRECTOR, FBI

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

"Our stand is rooted in the primary concern of our Party for the present and future welfare of the American people. As an independent Marxist party of American workers dedicated to socialism, we seek to add our influence to ensuring friendship of peoples and world peace. We shall continue to work for greater economic security, democracy, and civil rights in our own country, and for unity with all socialist-minded groups to attain socialism by constitutional, peaceful means, expressing the free choice of the majority of the American people."

Report on Organization by [redacted]  
Organizational Secretary of the  
New York CP District

Informant advised that a report on the status of the Party organization in the New York District was delivered by [redacted] Organizational Secretary of the New York CP District. This report was to be a part of the general discussion on Party organization at this meeting. [redacted] stated that there is a question which continually appears at all Party meetings in the New York District. He stated that the membership is asking whether or not it is necessary to make such an agonizing reappraisal of our Party. The membership is also asking if we would be making this reappraisal if it had not been for the issues raised by NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV in his speech to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU.

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[redacted]'s answer to these questions was that we would be making such a reappraisal. He said that such a reappraisal would be necessary even if the 20th Congress of the CP, SU had never been held. Explaining this, [redacted] stated that there is a changed situation in the United States which was favorable to the CP. Despite this fact, the isolation of the Party from the masses continues. Commenting on those things which are favorable to the Party in the United States, he mentioned the following:

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The defeat of Mc Carthyism.

The united labor movement.

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The holding of the Geneva Conference, and what he called the growing moods of struggle on the part of the working class.

[ ] stated that he would discuss the following propositions in his report:

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Where is the Communist Party in the United States today?

What is the position of the masses in the United States today?

How do the masses view the CP?

Did the 20th Congress of the CP, SU add to the moral crisis of the CP?

Has the constant change in the national leadership of the CP, USA added to this crisis?

Is the Party disintegrating?

Is there no hope for the CP in the United States?

With regard to the last question, [ ] stated that in his opinion the CP is not disintegrating and that there is still some hope for the CP in the United States. He stated that the Party still has positions of influence in the trade union movement and in the people's movement.

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[ ]'s comments on registration and dues in the New York CP District

[ ] next went into a discussion of the registration and explained that the Party registration for 1956 is really a two year registration since the New York District did not have a registration in 1954 for the year 1955. He stated that two-thirds of the membership of the CP in the New York District were lost during the last ten years. [ ] then stated the following figures which were later disputed by [ ] Executive Secretary of the New York CP District:

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[ ] claimed that in 1946 the New York CP District had 30,000 members but by 1950 this membership figure had dropped to 24,000. He did not give the current registration figures for the New York District until the conclusion of his remarks but he did say that 88 per cent of the membership in the New York District has been registered.

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According to [ ] one-third of the membership of the New York District also belong to industrial organizations. He stated that one-third of the membership attends meetings regularly. One-third or less of the membership carries on sustained activity. He then commented that the Party is getting older because two-thirds of the Party membership in New York is now at least 40 years of age.

[ ] stated that dues payments can be considered as being fair to good. He said that during 1955 the New York District had an 85 per cent dues payment. For the first five months of 1956, the dues payments are averaging 62 per cent. He expects, however, that there will be a drop in the percentage of dues payments until the next registration in the fall of 1956 since the 62 per cent represents dues collected during the registration which began during the latter part of 1955 and carried over into the first part of 1956.

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[ ]'s comments on the reasons  
for losses in membership

[ ] asked why there has been such a loss of Party membership. He said that these losses are due to objective conditions. He said that there have been many attacks not only on the Party itself but also on individual Party members. He said that this stands out as the most important reason for losses in membership. [ ] then stated that many former Party members are friendly toward the Party but refuse to formally join the Party at this time. Many of these people are working in trade unions and other mass organizations. He urged that these former members be kept in mind. He stated that the Party should not lose contact with them.

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[ ] then went on to explain that there were some mistakes which contributed to the losses and to the status of organization in the New York District. He stated that one of

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the main errors was that of sectarianism and adventurism particularly in the electrical industry and in the Negro field and in the mass movements.

[redacted] then stated that many hundreds of members in the New York District were unjustly expelled from the Party and that this greatly contributed to the loss in membership. He then gave an example to show what he meant by adventurism in the Party program. He stated that in 1951 the New York District had a club active in the Longshoremen's Union and that this club was very active. Despite the activity, this club had no deep roots on the docks since they were new to this type of work. The Party involved this group in some dramatic fights and before the Party could do anything about it every single member was lost to the Party either because they were fired from their jobs or were expelled from the union.

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[redacted] went on to explain that the same adventurism characterized Party activity in the Brewery, Teamsters, and Transport Workers Unions although the Party was able to save some of its members by transferring them to community organizations where they are now doing some good work. [redacted] said that as a result of this adventurism many Party members, who should be in industrial organizations, are in community organizations since they do not trust the industrial organizations of the CP. They expect that if they were in an industrial organization they would be pushed into some adventurism and, as a result, would either lose their jobs or their standing in the union. On the other hand, they can work quietly in a community organization and eliminate these fears.

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With regard to losses of membership from expulsions, [redacted] stated that the CP incorrectly estimated the Fascist danger. As a result of this incorrect estimate, for security reasons, the New York District dropped a few thousand members who were considered untrustworthy and not strong enough to withstand repression. Concerning losses of the Negro membership, [redacted] stated that these losses were due chiefly to left sectarianism. He stated that in every Negro community we put the Negro comrades into left field and isolated them from the Party and from the mass organizations of the

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community. We also put them into left centers where they were further isolated. Next [ ] stated that the gross distortions in the fight against white chauvinism also helped to lose Negro members. He asked what Negro member would want to join a Party which was considered to be full of white chauvinists. He stated that the Negro gained the impression that the Party was composed of many white chauvinists in view of our excesses in the fight against this deviation.

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Current Activities in the  
New York CP District

[ ] asked what has happened to the remaining membership in the New York District. He said that since the Party's draft resolution of 3½ years ago the New York District of the CP has been anchoring its membership in the mass organizations, the trade unions, and the basic industries. He stated that in the New York District one-third of the membership in the community organizations now function through right led mass organizations of the people. He said that they have many united front relationships. It was this anchoring of the Party in the right led organizations plus the United Front Program which has speeded the fight against reaction.

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[ ] also stated that the Party has a new concept of Negro-white unity. He said that when the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision with regard to desegregation, the CP, through a series of united front mass meetings and other organized events in many areas and cities, was able to rally thousands of people and was also able to involve officials of large organizations and officials of some cities in support of this desegregation order.

[ ] then talked about the building of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He stated that the New York District of the Party has obtained some excellent results with regard to the NAACP. He stated that there is a Negro leader in the food industry who he characterized as having been at one time active in a left center. He stated that this person, by himself, recruited 500 people into the NAACP. [ ] then cited some examples of experiences in the field of political action as a result of the Party's work within mass organizations. He stated that the Party has influence in the Typographical Union and, as a result, was able to get this union to participate in two Congressional

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campaigns which resulted in the defeat of the reactionary candidates. [ ] stated that the Party has also strengthened itself as a result of correcting its sectarian approach concerning Israel and attributed this correction to the fact that the Party membership is now working in mass organizations. He stated that the Party would never have arrived at a correct policy with regard to Israel if it had not been for the fact that Party members working in mass organizations, were able to bring pressure upon the Party which resulted in corrected policy. In other words, members working in mass organizations have been able to get the Party to adopt a correct policy.

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Turning his attention to trade unions, [ ] stated that in the trade unions the CP is winning back some influence which it had lost as a result of the fact that Party members were expelled from unions when the "left" lost control. He stated that Party members are now working through regular trade union machinery and that they are sinking their roots and expanding the Party's influence in trade unions.

He stated that the Party is developing a new and rising cadre and that this cadre knows how to work among the masses in a manner which will bring prestige not only to themselves but also to the Party. He stated that the main emphasis is being placed on workers in industry. There is not a concentration in the old sense of the word nor is there an emphasis on shop papers. Citing examples, he stated that the Party's work in the railroad and Longshoremen's Unions are the best examples of the current work being done by the New York District in industry. He stated that in the past the Party had made a lot of noise in the Longshoremen's Union and in the railroad unions but that the Party's activity was primarily limited to the issuing of bulletins and that the Party organization among railroad workers and Longshoremen was practically non-existent. This situation has been changed. He said that the New York District now has good organization in both of these industries. He stated that the CP in New York has 35 people actively organized in the Longshoremen's industry. It has 30 people active in the Teamsters Union and 70 people active in the railroad industry.

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He stated that the New York District's activity in the steel industry is primarily centered in the Buffalo area and that there are 34 Communists active in steel in that area. He also stated that the Party's activity in the electrical industry is also centered in upstate New York; however, he did not have any current figures on the number of members in the District who are active in the electrical industry. He stated that the new type of work in industry has had some affect on rebuilding the Party. He stated that some oldtimers have been activized by the injection of new blood into districts and organizations of the Party.

Turning his attention briefly to Buffalo, he stated that a new cadre has been introduced into the Party in Buffalo. As a result of this, there has been a phenomenal rise in the mass work of the comrades in that city.

[ ] said that the policy of shifting members to industry and into mass organizations is paying off. He said that we need to have patience with and confidence in CP members who are active in industry. He also stated that at the end of the summer the New York CP District plans to shift over 1,000 additional members from community organizations into industrial organizations.

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[ ] stated, however, that he had to say that there are still some small pockets of resistance in the Party against going into industries and into mass organizations. Some Party members are still questioning the liquidation of the left centers. Other Party members are also charging the District leadership with giving up the American Labor Party. He said that other old Party members are sitting it out and are waiting to see what will happen.

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[ ]'s comments on organization, funds, and the status of the "Daily Worker"

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[ ] said that in the past we gave exaggerated objectives to the various organizations of the Party. Many times these objectives were beyond the capacity of these organizations. The result of this was discouragement. As an

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example of this, he cited the recent struggle for civil rights. He said that when the Party was discussing the march on Washington it made the statement that thousands of people would be mobilized for the trip of the NAACP to Washington. According to [redacted] even as these statements were being made it was obvious that thousands could not be mobilized for such a trip. As a result, when numbers far short of this were actually mobilized, it had a very discouraging effect upon Party members.

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In regard to finances, he said that we also give the Party membership tasks well beyond their capabilities. He then went into a discussion of the financial situation. He said that we need drastic changes of financial policy within the CP. According to [redacted] only 50 per cent of the goal has been raised during the financial drive of the New York District. He said that if they try to maintain the contemplated budget that the Party will be in bankruptcy in the New York District in a short time. Because of this, the New York District is undertaking serious cuts in personnel. At the present time there are 29 full time Party employees in the New York District. The plan is to reduce this number from 29 to 16. They want to have four full time people operating on a District level and two full time people working in each county in the New York City area. He said that 75 per cent of the budget of the New York District is eaten up by administrative costs such as wages, the "Daily Worker", and defense expenses.

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The biggest problem of all, according to [redacted] is the "Daily Worker." He said that the "Daily Worker" is a most invaluable instrument in the current discussions in the CP. This is true because the paper can be shown to persons outside of the Party ranks. He stated, however, that it is necessary for the Party to make an analysis of the "Daily Worker" and decide whether or not the paper can be maintained. He suggested that after the Party's National Convention that the National leadership consider the abandoning of the "Daily Worker" and the bringing forth of a new weekly paper. He said that it would be much better to have a weekly paper with a circulation of 60,000 or 70,000 than to have a daily paper which not only has a fraction of this circulation but is also a tremendous burden upon the Party.

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[ ] again discussed exaggerated goals and the fact that these exaggerated goals are stumbling blocks to Party progress. He also stated that there are other stumbling blocks in the Party and mentioned the lack of review on policy questions such as the economic situation, the work among Negroes, the form and structure of the Party, Party democracy, and industrial and trade union work. He said that the Party has been drifting too much and that the Party leadership is not writing enough material on these important issues. He also stated that the membership in the New York District is questioning the ability of the national leadership and stated that morale of some of the membership is very low.

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[ ] then discussed leading policy committees. He stated that the membership wants to know how these policy committees are constituted. He said they have to be told that for the most part these committees consist of full time Party people. As a result of this, some of the members want to change the composition of leading committees. They state that persons active in mass organizations, who have their ear to developments in the mass movement, should be placed on these policy making committees. He then stated that the leading committees of the Party should not "hug all the lower organizations of the Party to their chest." He also said that differences on policy should be fought out not only in the higher committees but also on lower levels. Trade union policy should be made by Party members active in the particular trade union.

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[ ] then stated that the New York District is making some progress in this regard. The specific policy is now being made by people in various industries. According to [ ] the following questions are being raised by the Party membership:

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Do we need a monolithic party?

Do we need a Party with an iron discipline?

He stated that personally he thinks that we have mistakenly transferred the Russian experience and concept of organization to our country. This is incorrect inasmuch as different conditions exist in this country and also because

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we have left out the democratic tradition of the United States in our concept of organization. He stated that the monolithic form of organization clashes with democracy at any time policy is being made. He said that the higher bodies in the Party organization should listen to the suggestions which come from the lower organizations and should make changes in policy based upon these suggestions. He also stated that as a result of expecting unity among the leadership of the Party there results a certain formalism and rigidity.

According to [redacted], what the Party needs is a system of majority rule. The Party should allow for an area of differences before carrying out the majority policy. He also stated that once the Party adopts a constitution it should adhere to it. If any changes are made, they should not be made in violation of the constitution as was done during the past few years. In this connection, he stated that the Party should abolish the principle of cooptation.

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[redacted] then discussed the idea of a new party of Socialism. He said that in the past the CP in the United States had open to it many avenues of struggle; however, at the present time, practically speaking, the Party is illegal. Only a handful of people can identify themselves to the workers and to their neighbors as Communists. In this regard, he stated that most CP clubs in upstate New York are functional clubs. He said that the Party in Buffalo is illegal except for the Organizer who is a full time employee.

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[redacted] said that some good work is being done in shop clubs in Buffalo and that they are able to discuss some issues such as wages and other issues pertaining to working conditions in industry, but that the membership cannot identify themselves as Communists. [redacted] thinks that the Party cannot continue to exist in this manner. He said that recently he had interviewed 75 Party people in upstate New York. Out of this total of 75, only a handful had been able to hold onto a job for five years. As soon as it was discovered that they were "lefts", "Reds", or Communists, they were fired.

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With regard to mass movements, he said that if anyone should identify himself as a Communist he would be expelled from the movement. For this reason the New York

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District will encourage functional clubs for the time being and will not disband them although it is realized that this is not the best form of Party organization. He also stated that community clubs should carry on concentration work but that in many instances not enough of the members of these clubs are active in mass organizations.

Continuing, [ ] said that even in the old days when the Party had more of a legal status than at present, very few trade union members would come forward and identify themselves as Communists. Because of that he said that we need the following:

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1. Some mass form of Socialist expression on the part of trade unionists and shop workers.
2. Forms of Democratic expression within the Party itself.
3. We need to speak up against the Soviet Union in a manner similar to the recent line of the "Daily Worker." He said that we need to do away with the idea that we are parroting the Soviet Union or other Communist Parties. This will help to minimize the charge that the CP of the USA is a foreign agency.

National CP membership and  
current membership figures for  
several CP Districts

CG 5824-S\* advised that when [ ] completed his report, the National Organization Commission of the CP presented a set of figures to the National Committee on the blackboard. These figures were written by [ ] [ ] indicated that in 1955 the New York CP District had 9,000 members. Thus far, the New York District has registered 8,800 members in 1956.

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In 1955, Illinois had a registration of 1,000 members. In 1956, Illinois shows an official registration of 900 members.

In 1955, Michigan had a total registration of 300. Thus far, in 1956 Michigan has a total membership of 251

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although the Michigan District claims that its registration is not yet complete.

Ohio had an official registration of 600 in 1955. So far, the Ohio CP District has registered 580 members in 1956.

Eastern Pennsylvania had a registration in 1955 of 523. The 1956 registration for eastern Pennsylvania is 457.

In 1955 the New Jersey District had a total registration of 766. The 1956 registration for New Jersey is 731.

In 1955 the California District had a registration of 2,894. The 1956 registration figure for the California District is 2,900.

The western Pennsylvania District had a registration of 150 in 1955. The registration for this District in 1956 is 120.

In 1955 the CP, USA claimed a total registration of 17,600 on the basis of registration figures which were turned in by the various Districts. In 1956, with the registration almost completed, the registered Party total membership is 16,500.

With regard to membership in the South, in 1955 there were 22 registered members in the State of Virginia. There are currently 25 registered members in Virginia.

In 1955 there were 48 members in Florida. The current Party membership for Florida is 38.

In 1955 there were 35 members in North Carolina. The current registration for North Carolina is 30.

In 1955 there were 16 Party members in Tennessee; however, there are no figures available for 1956.

In 1955 there were 24 Party members in Alabama with no figures available for 1956.

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In 1955 there were 57 Party members in Louisiana; however, 23 of these members were considered to be members at large. There are no figures available for Louisiana for 1956.

There were 37 registered CP members in Texas during 1955 and the current registration figure for Texas is 35.

There are currently three CP members registered in the State of Georgia and no figure was available for registration in Georgia for 1955. It is expected that more members will be registered in Georgia.

During the year 1955, dues payments for the entire CP, USA averaged 78 per cent. The following are the dues percentages for various Districts for the first few months of 1956:

New York District	-	61 per cent
Illinois District	-	44 per cent
Michigan District	-	26 per cent
Ohio District	-	28 per cent
Eastern Pennsylvania	-	16 per cent
New Jersey District	-	22 per cent
California District	-	11 per cent

However, with regard to the percentage figure for the California District, it was stated that this figure is probably incorrect since California usually sends its dues in large batches.

also gave the following percentage drops in Party membership between the years 1952 and 1956: b6  
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Between these years the New York District had a percentage drop of 36 per cent. Illinois' membership dropped 43 per cent. The Michigan District dropped 50 per cent; however, with regard to the percentage drop for Michigan,



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it was stated that this may be incorrect since the membership figure for Michigan for the year 1952 was an estimated 600. Ohio had a 28% drop in membership during these years. Eastern Pennsylvania a 34% drop. New Jersey a 20% drop between the years 1953 and 1956; there was no membership figure for New Jersey for the year 1952. California has had a 10% drop in membership during the period 1952 to 1956.

Discussion on Party  
Organization

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Comments of [REDACTED]

The informant advised that [REDACTED] was the first speaker during the discussion period. He said that the Bolshevization campaign during the 1930's plus the Bureaucratic leadership of Joseph Stalin froze the forms of organization of the CP. He stated, however, that these forms of organization are now being unfrozen. He then briefly reviewed the 1902 concepts of organization by V. I. Lenin and stated that since conditions are quite different now than they were in 1902 the CP needs new forms of organization.

Comments of PHIL BART

Informant advised that BART stated that the most important task of the Party is to emphasize its ideological role. He briefly discussed the shop clubs and stated that they function as trade union fractions instead of as Party organizations. He stated it is necessary for the Party to turn shop clubs into political organizations. He also warned about the lack of understanding of the capacity of various CP organizations to perform various functions. He also came out for the abolition of shop groups and also for the abolition of shop papers.

Comments of EUGENE DENNIS

Self-criticism by DENNIS

DENNIS stated that before discussing Party organization he first wanted to make a few observations concerning his article which appeared in the June 18 issue of the "Daily

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Worker." DENNIS stated that he should have said in his article that the Central Committee of the CP, SU has a collective responsibility to provide a basic Marxist analysis of what happened in the USSR with regard to Joseph Stalin. He also stated that he should have indicated in his article that new relations have been developing between various Marxist parties.

DENNIS also stated that in dealing with the "Daily Worker" in his article, he should have struck a more positive note on the boldness of the "Daily Worker" in dealing with questions growing out of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU. Finally, in regard to the criticism that he was individually responsible for the article of June 18, 1956, he wanted to say in self-criticism that he should have consulted at least the comrades in the Administrative Committee of the National Committee before publishing this article.

Comments of CG 5824-S\* on DENNIS' self-criticism and the unanimous adoption of the statement issued by the CP

CG 5824-S\* commented that while the unanimous adoption of the compromise statement and the self-criticism on the part of DENNIS does not heal the differences on fundamental problems it does maintain a status quo for the time being. This means that the tendered resignation of JOHN GATES as the Editor of the "Daily Worker" will not be acted upon by the CP, USA. At some future date, unless the differences become sharper, it may be officially decided not to accept his resignation. While the fight between the forces of GATES and those of DENNIS is not over, it was the general opinion of those in attendance at this National Committee meeting that an advance toward unity in the national leadership was made at this meeting although some fundamental problem may cause a near explosion in the future.

DENNIS' remarks on organization

DENNIS stated that the report of [redacted] shows that the leadership in the New York District has made some beginnings and changes in the mass work of the Party. With regard to the "Daily Worker" and the suggestion that it be abandoned, DENNIS stated that he believes that the Party ought

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to ask the membership of the New York District and the readers of the paper what should be done with it. He agreed that it may be necessary to establish a new weekly and abandon the "Daily Worker" after the National Convention. He stated, however, that he thought that the various Party Districts should be polled on this matter and that we should have their answers by September when the National Election Conference will be held.

DENNIS then went into a discussion of the possibility of forming a new party of Socialism. He said that such a party cannot be built in a hurry but to achieve a new party, if and when conditions mature, the Communists will have to play a key role. He thinks that the CP is not so discredited or at least not so completely discredited that it cannot play an important role in forming a new party of Socialism. In order to play this role, however, it is necessary for the CP to bring about changes in its method of work at the present time. It is also necessary for the Party to bring about changes in the Party program. It is also necessary to bring about changes in the structure of the Party organization. As these changes are made they will facilitate the building of the new party of Socialism. He stated that if changes in the structure of the Party organization do not solve all problems with regard to legality, they will help the Party to some extent in getting into mass organizations and they will also help the Party members currently active in mass organizations.

Next, DENNIS stated that it is necessary not to lose sight of the need for security not only for the Party but for Party members active in the shops. But, he said, the CP can take steps, even while protecting its security, which would lead to more democratic forms of organizations. He also emphasized the need to develop the next steps in the fight against left sectarianism. DENNIS said that the battle against left sectarianism has not yet been won. He also stated that the Party must wage a continual fight against dogmatism and said that the fight against dogmatism is not just something for convention discussion.

DENNIS said that the CP must be patient. He said that just as he moved cautiously on the matter of the relation of the CP, USA to other Marxist or Socialist parties in other countries until he was convinced that the CP, USA had to move, so the Party leadership must be patient with membership.

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in order to move them along new lines of organization and towards new goals.

Comments of

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DENNIS was followed by BILL NORMAN. NORMAN stated that he is not certain that the Party can ever overcome its errors and the bureaucracy within its ranks. He stated that he also favored the abolition of shop units and shop papers and he asked for an expanded democracy within the Party.

Comments of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

The next speaker during the discussion period was WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, District Organizer of California.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that there is a real crisis in the CP and that the problems the Party faces are universal in the sense that the same problems exist from coast to coast. He stated that the leadership of the CP must have an open mind on all matters and that the National Committee will have to inject itself into the present discussion going on within the Party. He stated that so far the National Committee has not done this. He then stated that he wanted to mention a few things about which the Party membership is talking on the West Coast. He stated that the membership is asking the following questions:

Can we change the organization of the CP?

Can the present leadership of the CP, USA change its policy?

Do we need a monolithic party?

Do we need military discipline?

What about dissent. How far can a member go in dissent in support of his position?

If the Party member fights for his position, will it be considered factionalism?

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SCHNEIDERMAN stated that democratic centralism is discredited. He stated that the Party needs more emphasis on democracy. Direct representation to county levels is a current demand of the membership. Elective bodies should verify policies. The higher committees should not ram down a line to the lower organizations. The Party should outlaw cooptation. The Party should hold more frequent elective conferences and elections for positions. The Party should hold more frequent conventions. We should have a bill of rights for the membership. There should be no expulsions from the Party except for anti-working class activity or for people who are caught as informers. The right of appeal in the Party should be automatic. There should be the right to recall leaders.

SCHNEIDERMAN stated that Party leaders should review the Constitution particularly with regard to the matters of appeal and democracy. At this point, SCHNEIDERMAN commented that he has been unable to find a 1938 Constitution of the CP, USA. He stated that he will probably have to consult the prosecution or read the court record in order to know what is in this Constitution.

SCHNEIDERMAN also stated that the Party membership has a universal demand that the national leadership tell them something about the different opinions among the members of the National Committee. The membership is also interested in at least some details of the conflicting opinions of the members of the National Committee. He stated that the Party members are also asking for a more frequent review of Party policy especially after a policy has been tested in action. The membership is also asking for more simplified agendas and they also want permission to let the clubs decide their own agendas. The membership also wants all agendas to include a good and welfare clause so that any member can raise whatever problem he has on his mind.

SCHNEIDERMAN also stated that the Party should make it obligatory for the leadership to listen to and act upon proposals made by the rank and file members.

According to SCHNEIDERMAN, the Party members are also asking how Party leaders are being chosen. How will future Party leaders be selected. He stated that some Party leaders

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have suggested that the names of persons aspiring to leadership be made available to the membership in various parts of the country so that they can obtain a record of the Party activities of these people and see if they are worthy of being elected to positions of national leadership.

Next, SCHNEIDERMAN read a few sentences from a letter he had recently received from [redacted]. She indicated that some of the matters about which she wrote were being discussed in the Party ranks at the present time. She stated that because of the turmoil in the Party steps should be taken at the present time to institute changes in the Party in regard to a policy of democracy. She also stated that the Party should open discussions on the national leadership. She also stated that all Party members should be notified that currently the Party is carrying on discussions concerning possible changes in Party Constitution. She also stated that the members should be notified that currently there is a committee working on suggested changes in the Party Constitution. She also stated that the Party should publicize a series of proposed changes in the Party Constitution.

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Next, SCHNEIDERMAN discussed some views of important problems. He stated that these views were held by what he called non-Party people. He stated that he had met with a group of non-Party people who are Longshoremen and that he had met separately with HARRY BRIDGES, whom he characterized as a non-Party labor leader. He said that HARRY BRIDGES said that the CP is having too many discussions about past mistakes made by the Party. These discussions of past mistakes are currently a handicap in the Party's operations.

BRIDGES stated that the CP is illegal and that it is not getting anywhere. He stated that the Party cannot grow since it cannot obtain recruits; therefore, it will eventually die. In the opinion of BRIDGES, the CP should dissolve at the National Convention in December. After its dissolution, the CP should wait for at least six months before a new Party comes into being. Without a waiting period of at least six months, the dissolution would be interpreted as a gimmick and a new party would be subject to prosecution.

SCHNEIDERMAN said that BRIDGES stated that when a new party is formed that this party should talk American not

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New Yorkese. He stated that the CP would have to keep in mind that there has been a long period of prosperity in the United States and that this period of prosperity has affected the thinking of the American working man. BRIDGES said that the American working man is not going to give all-out support to some will-o-the-wisp unless he sees that it is something practical.

BRIDGES then stated that he did not agree with PAUL SWEEZY, an editor of the "Monthly Review," who has suggested the formation of a Fabian Society which would propagate Socialism but would not have any real organization. BRIDGES stated that he thinks that there is room for a party of Socialism in the United States. This would be a new kind of party which would attract trade unionists. This party might be a federation consisting of an association of Socialist minded people. BRIDGES stated that if such a party comes into being and this party is not identified with the Communists, he would consider joining such a party.

Next SCHNEIDERMAN talked about industrial clubs in the CP. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that the Party should retain the industrial club, at least for the time being, inasmuch as there was nothing better to supplant it. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that one trouble with the organization of the CP, USA is that it has the same form of organization and the same tasks for a club of 60 members as it has for a club of 6 members. As a result, many Communist clubs are given impossible tasks to perform. He stated that someone has compared the CP clubs to a pyramid standing on its point with everything being pored down upon it from the top. He stated that it is necessary for the Party to become more realistic and to refrain from giving exaggerated tasks to the membership.

Comments of [redacted]  
Executive Secretary of the  
New York CP District

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CG 5824-S\* advised that [redacted] stated that in 1946 the CP in the New York District had a total membership of 26,000 and that in 1950 the total membership of the New York District was 17,700.

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It is to be noted that in his report, [redacted] had stated that in 1946 the New York District had a total membership of 30,000 and that in 1950 the New York District had 24,000 members.

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[redacted] stated that he was a little worried because some persons present at this National Committee meeting had stated that they were encouraged by the report of [redacted]. [redacted] stated that there are many problems in the New York District and that no one should feel too encouraged. He stated that he wanted to repeat what had been said previously and that is that the Party faces a crisis. He stated that because of the economic boom in the United States the workers are not willing to listen to CP members. He also stated that there is political reaction in the United States which has helped to isolate the Party. He stated that not only has the Party committed numerous mistakes which also isolated it but the 20th Congress then came along and deepened the crisis of the CP, USA.

[redacted] stated that the root cause of bureaucracy in the CP, USA is not the full time Party functionaries. He stated that bureaucracy is built into the constitution of the CP, USA. He also stated that he is in favor of the retention of shop clubs until the Party can find some better form of organization. He said that originally he was in favor of the immediate abolition of shop clubs but that a recent trip to upstate New York convinced him that a situation different than that which exists in New York compels the retention of shop clubs. He stated that we still have to give some security to CP members in industry. He stated that he could see no form of organization which would do a better job of giving security to these members at this time than the shop club.

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[redacted] then went to the blackboard and indicated that he, too, had had some meetings with a number of important trade union people who are now outside of the CP.

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CG 5824-S\* commented that when the persons at this meeting, such as [redacted], spoke of trade union persons who are not Party persons they may or may not have meant what they have said. Explaining this, the informant stated that if a



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trade union person is subject to the Taft-Hartley Law, he may be formally out of the Party but if a trade union person is not subject to Taft-Hartley he may be a secret member of the Party. The informant stated that he is not certain what [ ] had in mind with this characterization.

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[ ] stated that during these discussions with these trade unionists, he asked them some questions with regard to the possibility of building a new Socialist party in the United States and what their position would be with regard to such a party. He said that he also asked them what steps could be undertaken at the present time in order to bring some trade unionists, including ex-Party members, closer to the current thinking of the CP, especially since the CP is changing its methods and forms of work.

It is noted that this topic was further developed by JOHN GATES who also spoke for the New York District.

Comments of ED STRONG

[ ] was followed by ED STRONG. STRONG stated that he thought that the following three matters should be given serious consideration:

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1. Do we face a crisis?

He stated that in his opinion the CP, USA does face a crisis which is related to problems growing out of the 20th Congress of the CP, SU.

2. What is the nature and source of bureaucracy in the CP?

He stated that to merely say that bureaucracy is built into the CP is not the answer. He said that he thinks that the Party should look scientifically for the cause of bureaucracy in the Party.

3. How do we solve this current crisis in the Party? Can we do it and can we do it before the National Convention?

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STRONG stated that he hopes that the Party will not set a time limit for the solution of the current crisis. He stated that to do this would be to once again place an impossible task before the membership. STRONG said that to place something like a 30 day limit on the solution of the crisis might result in an even bigger crisis.

Comments of JOHN GATES

STRONG was followed by JOHN GATES. GATES said that he was pleased by the self-criticism remarks of EUGENE DENNIS. He said that this self-criticism will go a long way to solving some of the Party's problems. It will also help him to resolve problems of self-criticism.

GATES stated that he is not too pessimistic. He does not think that the Party is through or finished. The Party still has many assets, however, he stated that if the CP does not make some changes it will be through as a factor in the United States. Without changes, the CP will disappear as a political force even though it continues to exist in name. He stated that some members are already leaving the Party and that some others are watching to see what the leadership proposes to do before deciding whether or not they will leave the Party.

GATES stated that WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN presented the thinking of the California District but that this thinking is prevalent throughout the Party and that some of the suggestions of the California District should be put into effect nationally at the present time.

GATES also stated that since the CP is illegal that it is going to be difficult to fight for democracy within the Party without, at the same time, fighting for democracy in the country. He asked what the Party could do to change this situation. How can the Party survive and make its contribution to the new Socialist party which will come into being in the future. GATES stated that some illegality in the CP is self-imposed; however, some of the proposals made during the discussion at this meeting contained the elements to make change possible; for example:

1. The question of democratic centralism.

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2. The changing of the name of the Party.

He said that the changing of the name of the Party should be discussed, not as a gimmick, but as something to give relief to the CP before the Party is able to build a bigger party of Socialism.

3. The deletion from the Constitution of the CP, USA of the words, Marxism - Leninism.

He said that this is necessary if the Party wants to establish legality.

GATES then said that the Party has only begun to fight against sectarianism. He said that the trade union people think that the Party should not dissolve. He then went to the blackboard and he, too, indicated that he had met with some leaders from a number of unions. He mentioned the Typographical Union, the Teamsters Union, and the Furriers Union. He also referred to them as non-Party trade union people. He said these people think that the CP should not dissolve. He said that they feel that even if a new Party of Socialism is formed, a new Party which trade unionists could join, that the CP can still play a role in the American political situation inasmuch as it can raise problems which no other party can raise.

GATES also stated that he had a discussion about the perspectives for "Labor's Daily." GATES said that perhaps the CP ought to pay more attention to this newspaper since this paper has received the official endorsement of the AFL-CIO and also because it may some day become the official organ of the merged labor unions. He stated that if it does become an official organ that it might be influenced through locals or through certain correspondence sent to the paper.

GATES finished with some remarks concerning the "Daily Worker." He said it is necessary for the Party to face the problem of the continual burden of the paper on the Party. He said that it may be necessary for the Party to give up the "Daily Worker"; however, this matter should be fully discussed and in no event should the "Daily Worker" be abandoned prior to the National Convention of the CP.

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Comments of [redacted]

[redacted] followed JOHN GATES and she talked about CP activities in the trade unions and stated that the Party is lagging behind the trade unions. She stated that she thinks that the shop clubs have merit but that it is necessary to get the shop clubs to occasionally discuss other than shop problems and to assist the community organizations with some of their problems. She also talked about the change in the character of the leadership. She said that the members in the New Jersey District believe that the authority of the leadership should be limited and that the conventions of the Party should make more decisions on policy. She also stated that she believes that more leeway should be given to the lower organizations of the Party so that they can explore things for themselves and submit their opinions to the higher bodies for further consideration. She also stated that the Party membership is not clear on the exaggeration of the war danger. She stated that it is necessary to give more factual material on this matter so that Party speakers can convince Party membership that the war danger was exaggerated. She also stated that the Party needs more factual material on the role the Party plays within the trade union movement.

Theoretical Remarks of  
MAX WEISS

CG 5824-S\* advised that [redacted] was followed by MAX WEISS who went into a theoretical exposition of the crisis in the Party. The informant commented that while everyone thought that WEISS gave a good philosophical report they also felt that his report had little to do with the situation at hand. The informant stated that the corridor conversation was that the logic in WEISS' remarks was precise; however, the premise was incorrect, therefore, everything that followed the premise was wrong.

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Informant also stated that WEISS' remarks were only a part of the discussion and did not necessarily reflect an expression of any collective body.

WEISS asked whether there is a crisis in the CP and, if there is a crisis, whether or not it can be separated from the crisis in world Communism. He then went into his

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theoretical exposition. He stated that there was a crisis in the Second International in the early 1900's. He said that this was an irreconcilable conflict and a crisis which could only be resolved by a split in the Communist movement. Next, he talked of the second crisis in the Communist movement. He stated that this crisis occurred when Adolph Hitler came into power and a right and left wing of the Socialist movement came into being. He said that the third crisis in world Communism took place when Tito challenged Stalin. According to WEISS, this third crisis has been resolved; therefore, we are too late in talking about a current crisis in world Communism. He said that we are in a battle with a left sectarian current but this current has no real basis, therefore, there is no choice of a split before us.

WEISS stated that if the CP, SU fought for a policy different than that adopted by other Communist Parties with regard to relations with the CP, SU, then there would be a serious crisis in world Communism; however, the CP, SU is not opposed to this changed attitude of other parties toward the Soviet Union; therefore, there is no crisis. WEISS said that we are at a historical turning point in a new era. He stated that if we need to use the word "crisis" to move the people, to show them that the situation is serious, then he has no objection to the use of this word; however, if we are merely talking about the current situation in world Communism then he is against the use of the word "crisis."

WEISS then went into a discussion of the period of the Third International, which he characterized as a period of "wars and revolutions." He said that because this was a period of wars and revolutions the CPs at that time were fashioned accordingly in order to meet the situation. He said that now we are in a new era. We are in the era of non-inevitability of war and the era of peaceful transition. Therefore, we need to build a new kind of a party, a party organized quite differently than the party of the Third International.

WEISS further stated that the CP, USA must unite Socialism with the labor movement. It must help form and bring into being a new organization which will ultimately be the party of Socialism. The starting point is a program.

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He said that the CP today has no program. He also stated that we cannot use the 20 volumes of Lenin as a program. This does not mean, however, that we are abandoning the theoreticians of Marxism - Leninism. WEISS stated that during Lenin's life there was no such thing as Leninism. Stalin was the one who gave us the term, Leninism. Leninism was supposed to be Marxism in the era of imperialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, according to WEISS, we have a new situation. There are many new Socialist countries; there is a different attitude by the various CPs toward the Soviet Union; therefore, we made a new program and we should not use the words Marxism-Leninism in our program.

Comment of BEN DAVIS

WEISS was followed by BEN DAVIS. DAVIS only made one or two remarks and he stated that the struggle for Negro civil rights was missing from the report of [redacted]. He stated that this may cause some discussion among the Negro cadre. He also stated that he thought that more attention ought to be given to the problem of explaining how left sectarian errors were committed in the Negro field of work.

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Summary by [redacted]

In a short summary, [redacted] stated that if the word "crisis" is considered to be too scary in describing the present situation in the Party then another word should be used. He stated, however, that he cannot explain the current situation in the CP by means of a general historical analysis. (the informant advised that this was a reference to the remarks of MAX WEISS).

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[redacted] stated that the Party has finally come out against the left sectarian danger; however, the 20th Congress of the CP, SU has added some new problems, therefore, it is necessary not only to fight against left sectarianism but it is also necessary to give explanations to the membership about what has happened during the last 30 years in the Soviet Union. He said that this is a problem which needs to be discussed and that it is necessary for us to give satisfactory answers to the membership. He said that the Party needs a most drastic

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overhauling. He said that there is a body of thought in the Party which says, "let us stand our ground, things will eventually change anyway." He stated that if this body of thought prevails it could be more disastrous to us than the enemy.

In conclusion, [ ] stated that he favors some drastic changes in the CP. He said that even now we should begin giving consideration to new democratic processes and should begin to introduce them into the organization of the Party. He also urged that the National Committee announce the existence of a Constitutional Committee and indicate that this committee will formulate some proposals for changes in the Constitution prior to the National Convention.

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Proposals and future plans  
of the National Committee

CG 5824-S\* advised that there were no formal proposals and it was decided that any proposals resulting from this National Committee meeting would be culled from the discussion by the Administrative Committee of the National Committee which was scheduled to meet on Monday and possibly Tuesday, June 25 and 26, 1956.

This National Committee meeting adjourned at this point with the announcement that the Administrative Committee should set the date for the next National Committee meeting. It was also announced that the National Committee plans to state that the Party has formed various commissions which are meeting to study the Party Convention, the Party organization, and other matters. These commissions are to prepare resolutions for discussion by the membership prior to the National Convention. At the next meeting of the National Committee, these commissions are to make progress reports to the National Committee.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C40)(20-10) DATE: 8/14/56

FROM : SA [REDACTED] (7-4)

SUBJECT: CP USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO,  
BRONX COUNTY  
IS-C

Source: [REDACTED]

Reliability:

Who has  
furnished reliable b6  
information in b7C  
the past. b7D

Date of Activity:

6/27/56

Date Received:

7/3/56

Received By:

[REDACTED]

Location

[REDACTED]

- 1 - Detroit (DETROIT SMITH ACT DEFENSE COMMITTEE)(Info)
- 1 - [REDACTED] (P&C)(7-4)
- 1 - 100-4931 (CP USA)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-26603 (CP USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO)
- 1 - 100-26603-C320 (KINGSBRIDGE SECTION)(20-10)
- 1 - 100-120276 [REDACTED](20-10)
- 1 - 100-7767 [REDACTED](20-10)
- 1 - 100-83432 [REDACTED](20-10)
- 1 - 100-75418 [REDACTED](20-10)
- 1 - 100-123930 [REDACTED](20-10)
- 1 - 97-169 ("THE WORKER" AND "DAILY WORKER")(7-2)
- 1 - 100-74560 (CP FUNDS)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(19)
- 1 - 100-18056 [REDACTED](12-10)
- 1 - 100-118525 (BRONX COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF POLITICAL PRISONERS)(7-2)
- 1 - 100-110319 (SMITH ACT DEFENSE COMMITTEE)
- ① - 100-95583 (CP USA LINE)(12-14)
- 1 - 100-49162 (CPSU)(6)
- 1 - 100-98557 (CP USA DEFENSE COMMITTEE)

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JPH:dn  
(20)

100-95583-323

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
AUG 14 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]



Memo  
NY 100-26603-C40

Information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless same is paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 6/30/56, [redacted] reported on a meeting of the CP Club of the Northwest Section of Bronx, New York, which was held on 6/27/56 at the apartment of [redacted] and [redacted] Bronx, New York.

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C O P Y

June 30, 1956  
New York

Report                    Communist Party U.S.A.  
                                 Activities

A meeting of the C.P. club of the Northwest Section,  
Bronx was held on June 27th, 1956. at [redacted]  
[redacted] N.Y. at the apartment of [redacted]

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The following members of the club were present: [redacted]  
& [redacted] and [redacted]  
[redacted] who acted as [redacted] of the meeting.

The 1st question acted upon was the press-The Worker  
and the Daily Worker-funds and distribution.

[redacted] reported that the Daily Worker is "in desperate  
need of funds" and that "the management of the paper  
can see how it will be possible to continue the  
publication of the paper if the funds will keep on  
trickling in the way the money is coming in for  
the few weeks. Our section received an urgent call to  
raise funds for our press and to raise these funds  
immediately."

She gave out to the members special fund raising  
booklets and asked for donations.

Donations for the press were made by: [redacted] \$10,  
[redacted] - \$5.00, [redacted] \$5.00, [redacted]  
\$10.00; [redacted] \$5.00. Each one pledged to continue  
raising funds through the summer through the medium of  
the booklet which has a collection value of  
\$30.00.

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The club had 4 tickets to the Dennis report on  
June 28th in New York. [redacted] asked for and received  
one ticket. [redacted] and [redacted] got one  
ticket each for the same meeting. [redacted] asked  
the "summer addressess" from those members who will  
live outside of New York during the summer. "We

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C O P Y

C O P Y - 2

need the addressess in case there is some kind of an emergency and have to get in touch with all members" - [ ] explained.

[ ] and [ ] gave their summer addressess to [ ]. [ ] reported that this club sold \$15 worth of tickets to the Mindel party and turned over the money to [ ] for the Bronx Committee for Freedom of Political prisoners.

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[ ] reported on the Detroit Smith Act Defense Committee.

She said that the Detroit Smith Act Defense Committee is in "desperate need of funds" and that this committee appealed to the New York State Committee of the party to help raise funds for the Detroit, Mich Committee.

The N.Y. State Committee C.P. pledged to raise for the Detroit Smith Act defendants \$500. The Bronx county board of the C.P. pledged for this \$50, the Northwest Section pledged \$25.00 and the clubs of the section are requested to raise \$5.00 each. She asked each member at this meeting donate \$1.00 for the Detroit Smith Act defendants and each one donated as she requested. There was a short discussion on the economic condition in the U.S. which was a continuation from the discussion of this subject from the last meeting. [ ] gave a short resume of the discussions of the last meeting. Only [ ] who was not present at the last meeting expressed his opinion that "an economic crisis in a capitalist economy is inevitable" and that "this is one of the basic points in the theory of Marxism" and that "the disruption of the capitalist economy which will be caused by economic crises

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C O P Y - 2

C O P Y - 3

will become so sharp and intolerable that the working class and the masses will look for a way out and the only way out of this desperate situation will be to abolish capitalism and replace it with socialism. The example to replace capitalism with socialism will be the existence of the socialist or Communist Soviet Union, China and the other Socialist countries." With these remarks the discussion came to a close.

[redacted] was given the assignment to lead the next discussion on the Dennis report to the National Committee C.P.U.S.A. on "The Communists take a new look."

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It was decided to hold the next meeting at the same place on July 11th, 1956.

- J. Morris

C O P Y - 3

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-4931)

DATE: 8/17/56

FROM: [redacted] SA (7-4)

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
IS-C

Source: [redacted] (Protect by T symbol)  
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.  
Date of Activity: 6/28/56.  
Date Received: 7/6/56.  
Received by: SA [redacted]  
Location: [redacted]

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1-Pittsburgh 100- [redacted] LNU, member of the Pittsburgh Smith Act Committee

1-Pittsburgh 100- (FNU [redacted] codefendant of [redacted])

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- 1- [redacted] (P&C)(7-4)
- 1-NY 100-80532 [redacted] (12-11)
- 1-NY 100-8057 (E. DENNIS)(19)
- 1-NY 100-18672 (MAX WEISS)(19)
- 1-NY 100-49162 (SU)(6)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP LINE)(12-14)
- 1-NY 100-80638 (CP MEMBERSHIP)
- 1-NY 100-14859 [redacted] (7-2)
- 1-NY 97-169 (DAILY WORKER)(7-2)
- 1-NY 100-74560 (CP FUNDS)(12-14)
- 1-NY 100-9365 (W.Z. FOSTER)(12-10)
- 1-NY 100-120128 (PARTY VOICE)
- 1-NY 100-52710 [redacted]
- 1-NY 100-58535 (CONSTANTINE RADZI)(7-6)
- 1-NY 100-107774 (DR. HARRY COHEN)(12-15)
- 1-NY 100-64755 [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (7-6)
- 1-NY 100-47632 [redacted] (12-14)
- 1-NY 65-5604 (W. ALBERTSON)(7-5)
- 1-NY 100-7767 [redacted] (20-10)
- 1-NY 100-114143 [redacted] (12-11)
- 1-NY 100-95097 [redacted] (12-14)

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JPH:EEC  
(25)

100-95583-324

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 17 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*

MEMO  
NY 100-4931

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

By report dated 7/2/56, informant reported on meeting held 6/28/56 at Chateau Gardens, NYC.

Report

Communist Party  
USA Activities

July 2, 1956  
New York

Some 700 Communists attended a Communist Party mass meeting on the problems facing the Communist movement in the United States. The meeting was held on June 28th, 1956 at the Chatteau Gardens in New York.

Admission to the meeting was by invitation cards, which a member was able to get at any CP organization.

H. Apthekar chaired the meeting.

The chairman told the meeting that Eugene Dennis, who was scheduled to address the meeting, took sick and was unable to come to this meeting: "He has a cardiac condition and he worked to hard at the recently held meeting of the national committee of the Communist Party. (The National Committee of the CP, USA met on June 22nd, 23rd and 24th, 1956). I am sure that everyone here will join me in wishing Gene a speedy recovery." He introduced Max Weiss, National Educational director of the CP, as the speaker at this meeting:

Max Weiss said that he is not substituting for Gene Dennis, that he didn't have a chance to prepare himself to speak but he will try his best to state his views on the problems facing the Communist movement in the light of the 20th Congress of the Communist party SU.

Max Weiss stated that we are living in a new era, "an era in which socialism became a world system."

He said that one of the most important contributions of the 20th congress of the Communist Party, SU was Khrushchev's report to that congress that the emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system is the main feature of our era.

He underlined that some 900 million people are now in the socialist camp and that as a result of this the struggle for socialism is being waged under new conditions and that "peacefull transition (from capitalism to socialism) is now possible on a world scale".

He also underlined that war "is not inevitable" and that "co-existence is on the order of the day" and that "the American people reacted favorable to the Khrushchev report.

Max Weiss also stated that "Stalin's crimes are alien to socialism" and that Khrushchev's report shows that the campaign which was waged by the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union for the last 3 years against the cult of the individual was aimed at the removing of this road block of socialism."

Weiss also stated that it is wrong to describe "all the bad things" to Stalin and that "the central committee of the CPSU must still answer some questions which are disturbing our party and the international Communist movement."

He underlined that the fact that "Pravda" reprinted Eugene Dennis article shows that the Communist party of the Soviet Union "feels its responsibility to the international Communist movement and might shortly answer the many disturbing questions." Talking on the above mentioned Dennis article which was reprinted in the "Pravda" Max Weiss criticized Eugene Dennis for not submitting this to the party's "collective leadership for approval". Weiss asked: "why wasn't Stalin stopped? Our party and the other Communist parties of the world are still waiting for the real answer to this question. The answer that a struggle against Stalin would have undermined confidence in the Communist party of the Soviet Union is nonsense. It is not true. The hero-worship of Stalin was accepted by the Central Committee of the CPSU. The silence of Khrushchev on this point requires an explanation."



He said that "the Marxists of all countries are obliged to participate in the analysis of the Stalin era and reach full conclusions on this."

Weiss spoke of the building of socialism "in a backward country" (Russia) and that the "outside world tried to strangle the Soviet Union" and that this led "to the most centralized dictatorship of the proletariat" but with the death of Stalin this era came to an end and the "present leadership of the Soviet Union is undergoing many changes and now our own party has some re-examination of our own."

Max Weiss underlined that "the workers of the world have a common interest" and that "the struggle for socialism is international" and that "criticism and self criticism will only strengthen the socialist advance" and that "the fight for socialism will continue in a new prospective" and "our party will be called to make its contribution to socialism" and he asked the membership of the Communist party USA to participate in the discussions and not to wait for a blue print from the leader but to give to the leadership a blueprint for its' orientation.

He also stated that the national committee of the CP is ready to send representatives to the party clubs to listen in and to participate in the discussions. The chairman asked to send up written question which will be answered by Max Weiss.

During the remarks made by [ ] the [ ] received many written questions which he and Weiss were assorting.

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[ ] appealed to those who did not yet become subscribers of the Daily Worker and The Worker to do so here by filling out the subscription blanks which were placed on each seat in the hall.

He also asked everyone to participate in the present fund drive of the Daily Worker. He said that the paper must have "at least \$40,000 during this summer to exist."

He made a few cracks about "some questions that are creating sleepless nights in Washington: Are the Communist movements getting weaker by the day or stronger by the week? Has the Kremlin relaxed control or is it just relaxed? Is it good news for John Foster Dulles or for William Z. Foster?" etc.

[redacted] concluded with a call to work for a "democratic coalition against the monopolists" and for a "democratic socialist America."

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Max Weiss told the meeting that it will be impossible for him to answer here all of the questions; that he will try to find a way to answer most of the questions possible through to "Party Voice" or some other medium.

He answered one question: (he did not read the question) "Well, there is a tendency to minimize our accomplishments. We made an outstanding contribution in the struggle for peace, civil rights and against McCarthyism. Yes, we are advancing the idea that our government should adopt the policy of co-existence." An other question he answered: "Wide discussions and the developing of a mass socialist movement goes together." Answering another question: "It was wrong to make decission and policies without consulting those comrades who are directly involved in the work. There should be consultations between the leadership in those who are involved in trade union and in mass work."

Another answer: "We have suffered tremendous losses in membership. We reject Browderism- it is class colaboration. We are now examing all the cases of those who were expelled from the party and we will try to get most of them back."

Two more answers:

- 1) "Changes are necessary in the constitution of the party."
- 2) "The question of a United socialist party should be discussed by the membership."

J. Morris.

At the Communist Party meeting which was held on June 28th, 1956 at the Chatteau Gardens in New York I saw the following people:

[redacted] collected the admission cards.

Constantine Radzi, Dr. Harry Cohen, [redacted] (Negro),

[redacted]  
[redacted] (member of the Pittsburgh Smith Act Committee) [redacted]  
[redacted] (codefendent of [redacted] Pittsburgh Smith Act case) and [redacted] (of the Russky Golos).

b6  
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J. Morris

DIVISION, FBI

8/21/56

SAC, NEW YORK (100-9501)

CP, NY  
NY

The following information received from the informant must be carefully paraphrased in order to protect his identity.

[Redacted]

On 8/15/56, [Redacted] advised that [Redacted] had been in contact with [Redacted] and [Redacted] at the [Redacted] office and [Redacted] at [Redacted].

b7D

The informant advised that [Redacted] had been in contact with [Redacted] and [Redacted] at the [Redacted] office and [Redacted] at [Redacted]. [Redacted] told the informant that at a recent meeting of the [Redacted] organization, the matter of the current trend in the CP, USA was discussed in detail, and [Redacted] made a preliminary report to the [Redacted] organization on the status of the [Redacted] being worked out nationally. [Redacted] said that [Redacted] reported that [Redacted] is in [Redacted] subject to [Redacted], the [Redacted] and [Redacted] policy will dissolve the present CP, USA and [Redacted] has been [Redacted] and will suggest the formation of a new type organization and [Redacted] with [Redacted] of [Redacted] as of the present time.

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - New York (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

1 - [Redacted] (100-9501) (RM)

100-9501

100-9501-325

SEARCHED INDEXED  
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FBI - NEW YORK  
[Signature]

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available

Letter to Director

Let 80, 011  
Z-4

One of the main considerations in the establishment of the new policy, according to LAMBE, was the fact that in all of the Smith Act trials the CP found itself unable to bring through and maneuver in any way, and these Smith Act trials, with their mandatory, resulted in conviction after conviction. Further, according to LAMBE, the Internal Security Act of 1950 will probably be modified in some respects by pending Supreme Court decisions. However, in CP estimation, the Act, as a whole, will not be materially changed, which will make it practically impossible for the CP to sing in business and function in a way different from the present. Therefore, according to LAMBE, from the thinking of Party people at the present time, it is essential to put in the movement something enough strong to destroy the effectiveness or applicability of the ISA of 1950 and find a form of organization or structure which will make it more possible than now to circumvent the provisions of the Smith Act.

LAMBE said it is clear that what will emerge is a new organization not named Communist. Such an organization will seek to maintain the composition elements and character of a Marxist-Leninist party but will strive to free itself from being subject to those restricting laws.

LAMBE stated that LAMBE's views reported to the meeting may be a result of discussions in NY. It is not a precedent certainly that the "Daily Worker" will be abandoned as a daily paper and will be reorganized. With respect to the CP's considerations on the "Daily Worker", LAMBE stated the following: General

1. The CP, in the matter and better than ever, is unable to raise money and is faced by blockade and every other coercive control necessary to keep the party alive.

2. As a result of the 1950 Congress, the old bureau-arrange and committee method of making matters come through

Case  
8.24

SAC, NEW YORK (100-51820) (#7-2)

8/22/56

SA [redacted] (#7-4)

DEPARTMENT SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
IS-1

Sources	[redacted] (protect by T symbol)	b6
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past.	b7C
Date of Activity	7/24/56	b7D
Date Received	7/28/56	
Received by	SA [redacted]	
Location	[redacted]	

Information contained in this report must not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless it has been paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

By report dated 7/24/56, informant reported on a forum held at subject school on 7/24/56. The speakers were DOXEY WILKERSON and JAMES E. JACKSON. The discussion involved the question of the CP and Negro question.

- 1 - [redacted] (100) (#7-4)
- 1 - New York (100-58329) (DOXEY WILKERSON) (#7-2)
- 1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES E. JACKSON) (#7-5)
- 1 - New York (100-4931) (CP, USA) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-20340) (CP NEGRO QUESTION) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-55583) (CP LINE) (#19)
- 1 - New York (100-25493) (EARL BROWDER) (#20-9)
- 1 - New York (100-8957) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)

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JH:rem  
9

100-75583-326

[redacted]

*[Handwritten signature]*

New York City

July 24, 1950

Forum on "The Negro Question,"

A forum was held at the Jefferson School - 16th Street & 6th Ave on Tuesday evening, July 24, 1950 on the C.P. and the Negro Question. The principal speakers were Mr. Bruce Williamson, and James E. Jackson, about 60 persons were present who paid admission of one Dollar each.

Mr. Williamson stated that the C.P. in 1930 to '45 was incorrect on the Negro question. The struggle of the Negro liberation movement of an oppressed people is not contingent on the level of the American Labor movement within the oppressor imperialist nation, as different from the struggle for Socialism within the imperialist nation which is contingent on the level of the working class. This has brought on serious realizations in the past period has been confusion on these two questions. In effect, whether consciously or unconsciously, the concept that the level of the liberation movement could not proceed ahead of the level of the class in relation to liberation became the main concept.

In 1930 under Earl Browder, the C.P. had a slogan Equal rights for Negro, but this was incorrect. In 1945 the C.P. Convention brought out self determination of the Negro people, fight for Negro rights in labor, and the struggle for Negro liberation movement. Early in 1950 Eugene Dennis called for a second look at the Negro Question. Negroes had shifted from rural life to urban life as compared with the 1930's, shifted from farm workers, to factory workers, city dwellers and home owners, on the question of self determination, the Negroes in the Black Belt constitute a nation. Therefore the errors were the dogmatic raising of the right of self determination as a slogan in the past period, when it was not accepted by the Negro people.

The incorrect interpretation of the right to self determination to mean only a separate and independent nation. This was incorrect, as wrong as projecting the idea of a Black Republic. In order to correct these errors, the C.P. do not have to do away with the principle. Dr. James E. Jackson. The C.P. position on the Black Belt is self determination for Negroes. Negroes in the U.S. are an oppressed nation. The principle of Marxism must be applied to the Negro question. The cradle of the Negro question is still in the South. 2/3 of Negroes lives in the South, 1/3 outside of South, who also lives under segregation. Rezoning of Senatorial, Congressional, State and Cities district must be proposed in order to give Negroes a chance in politics. (This is a proposal for Southern States). Negroes must move to stage of stragalist, which should be led by labor. The raising of the Democratic rights in the South and to the Country on the whole. This Burden of change must come from the Black Belt by use of change in political life. The wiping out of the economic land owner system must be accomplished. The struggle for Democratic reforms, equal rights, suffrage, new labor laws & etc. The economic struggle of Negroes must be accomplished.

#### The Negro People Movements

- (1) Wipe out wage level
- Organize New workers in Trade Union
- Equal rights for Negroes
- Support Negroes in struggle for housing & Jobs
- Move Negro electorate & upgrading
- Rezoning of districts for better political advantages. Wipe out Jim Crow laws
- Recruit Negroes into C.P. as party workers & leaders.



OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43)

DATE: 9/11/56

FROM: SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
KINGS COUNTY  
IS-C

IDENTITY OF INFORMANT	NY 1657-S*
RELIABILITY	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
DATE OF ACTIVITY	July 25, 1956
DATE OF RECEIPT	July 25, 1956
AGENT RECEIVING INFORMATION	SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY JR.
LOCATION	100-26603-Sub 31

NY 1657-S\* furnished information on 7/25/56 to the effect that an individual (believed to [redacted] at a meeting held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP County meeting place, characterized the meeting as a Section Organizers meeting. NY 1657-S\* furnished the following information:

b6  
b7C

- 1 - 100-92547 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-66028 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-8944 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-90110 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-51955 [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - 100-54448 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-85206 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-117158 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-43258 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-65554 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP LINE) (19)
- 1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (19)
- 1 - J. F. HIGGINS 20-11
- 1 - 100-26603-C43

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JTO:axm  
(14)

*[Handwritten initials]*

25 13

100-95583-327

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signature and initials over stamp]*

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

Prior to the meeting [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) was greeted by [redacted] and [redacted]

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[redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) was then greeted by [redacted] and [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]).

[redacted] stated that [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) would not attend the meeting because he was taking care of the kids. [redacted] mentioned the Brownsville, Brighton, and Crown Heights Sections.

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[redacted] brought the meeting to order and introduced [redacted] (believed to be [redacted]).

[redacted] who spoke on the topic "How to Democratize Our Party," characterized the meeting as a Section Organizers meeting.

[redacted] blamed the loss of many Party cadre and 80 per cent of ~~its~~ membership on beauracracy in the Party and isolation of the Party from the masses. [redacted] proposed as a remedy that the Party be democratized and that the Party membership take part in the activities of the mass organizations. [redacted] commented that the members of the rank and file of the Party should be told what the differences of opinion are among the members of the National Committee in order to insure that the membership will be able to answer the questions arising in the sections and from non-Party people.

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[redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) spoke on the proposed new "Mass Party for Socialism." [redacted] stated that any new such organization as well as the

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MEMO

NY 100-26603-043

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

Party as it is today should have its core in the shop as well as in the community. [ ] stated that in Brooklyn at present there are really two parties, one of community organizations and one of industrial organizations. [ ] pointed out that while the industrial organizations are under the jurisdiction of the county organizations they are rarely heard from and that the county organizations had little control over them.

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An unknown woman advocated the democratization of the Party and stated that the only way to bring about Socialism was through the principles of Marxism - Leninism and pointed out that proof of this was the fact that several countries have had a majority of Socialists in their cabinets and parliaments and still complete Socialism was not brought about in these countries.

This unknown woman stated that she wants the proposed new party to be a party of action and not one of mere Socialist propaganda. She stated that she thought that the Party should drop the concept of the vanguard role, which means that it must initiate courses of action.

An unknown male thanked comrade [ ] (believed to be [ ]) for having come from the State Headquarters to speak to the comrades last week.

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This same unknown male stated that the discussions going on between the leaders of the Party, including the differences in opinions, ~~there are~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>properly</sup> of the entire Party should be made known to the members for the benefit of all.

An unknown woman stated that she was in agreement with the suggested fundamental changes in the Party. She

MEMO

NY 100-26603-043

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

commented that some of their immediate aims should be to have a program that would attract a broad mass of people to such a party. She stated that they must appeal to the working classes who would bring into the mass party for Socialism the necessary discipline.

Another unknown female, who identified herself as a member of the Section Committee in the Coney Island Section and a CP member for 25 years, stated that she disagreed with the proposed changes in the Party, including a change in the name of the Party.

An unknown female, who identified herself as being from Pennsylvania, stated that the CP leaders had failed the members of the CP and the failure by the leadership to inform the membership of their differences of opinion showed a contempt for the Party membership on the part of the CP leadership.

This same unknown female stated that she felt that the Party had made many contributions in the past to the moral fibre of the USA and cited the anti-Mc Carthy issue as an example. She commented that the Party must give more and broader expression to their social outlook and advocated more local autonomy in the Party.

[redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) stated that not only the differences and pronouncements of the National Committee should be made known but also the basis of each.

[redacted] stated that he would like to have a summary of the discussions that have taken place published for the benefit of the comrades.

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[redacted] stated that he thought it would be a good idea to have discussion groups of about

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

twenty five, only five of which should be Party members, for discussions on the question of new "Mass Party for Socialism."

[redacted] announced that the next Section Organizers meeting would be held on August 6.

[redacted] mentioned that the following section committee meetings would be held next week:

East New York on Friday  
Rugby on Thursday and  
Sylvia's (section) on Tuesday.

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[redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) stated that

1. He did not believe that a united mass Party for Socialism was within the realm of reality in the immediate future.
2. That there was a rising interest in Socialism in the United States.
3. That the interest in Socialism would increase.
4. They ~~have to~~ prepare themselves for a regroupment of Socialist forces in the United States.
5. The outlook for them is good to rebuild and start to grow.
6. They must prepare an ~~outline~~ of how to get from where they are to Socialism.
7. They must change their method of work in the light of existing world conditions.

MEMO

NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

[ ] stated that the Party had temporarily lost the ability to lead that it had twenty years ago - that it had lost the vanguard role. b6  
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[ ] agreed with the need for local autonomy within the framework of the Party.

[ ] stated that he favored a change of name for the Party and called for a radical revamping of the Party structure as outlined by him on the previous Wednesday evening (7/18/56). b6  
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[ ] stated that a change in name for the Party would:

1. buy it a little time in the event that the U.S. Supreme Court decides against the Party under the Mc Carran Act.
2. help the comrades in the labor movement.
3. help to regain the membership in the Party of thousands of former Party members in the automobile and steel industries.

The following phonetic first names were mentioned at instant meeting:

[ ]

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HARRY  
DOTTIE

[ ]

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

A photographic surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, on 7/25/56 and photos of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts are being undertaken to effect identification of these individuals. Photos of individuals identified will be disseminated to the respective main case files and photos of unidentified individuals will be maintained in 100-26603-1A6509 pending identification.

If this information is placed in a report it must be carefully paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

SEP 13 1 50 PM '56

AUGUST 14, 1956

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

- \_\_\_ SAC
- \_\_\_ DIV. 1
- \_\_\_ DIV. 2
- \_\_\_ DIV. 3
- \_\_\_ DIV. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 1
- \_\_\_ SEC. 2
- \_\_\_ SEC. 3
- \_\_\_ SEC. 4
- \_\_\_ SEC. 5
- \_\_\_ SEC. 6
- \_\_\_ SEC. 7
- \_\_\_ SEC. 8
- \_\_\_ SEC. 9
- \_\_\_ SEC. 10
- \_\_\_ SEC. 11
- \_\_\_ SEC. 12
- \_\_\_ SEC. 13
- \_\_\_ SEC. 14
- \_\_\_ SEC. 15
- \_\_\_ SEC. 16
- \_\_\_ SEC. 17
- \_\_\_ SEC. 18
- \_\_\_ SEC. 19
- \_\_\_ SEC. 20

Buffalo (100-4379-92)

DIRECTOR (100-3-92)

RE: CPUSA, DISTRICT #2  
BUFFALO DIVISION - LINE  
IS - C - CHINA

BU 105-90 reported that on evening of 8/13/56, a discussion took place between IRVING GOFF, fulltime organizer for CP in Buffalo area, and [redacted] organizer of Steel Section of CP in Buffalo area. GOFF stated that [redacted] is thinking in that bourgeoisie is finding ways to hold back economic crisis, not that it can always be held back. GOFF then talked about bourgeoisie being forced to trade and that goal of maximum profits has to be minimized, adding that what this means is that imperialists will drive for maximum profits, but will make concessions. GOFF stated that labor is starting to organize in the south which reduces the drive for maximum profits as it will lead to a greater demand by labor for an increased share of profits.

GOFF then remarked that in last 10 years the bourgeoisie increased productivity and rate of profit and that through the struggle of the unions, the general welfare of workers increased although, according to the standard of living, the workers are working hard. GOFF stated that in New York they see a prolonged period, maybe 20 or 25 years with rising living wages and increased influence by labor -- legal, open mass organizations. It will require building a movement, a mass organization, and, therefore, "You have to get rid of Marxism, Leninism, etc." GOFF then referred to JOHNNY GATES as having developed this theory.

GOFF then made some disconnected remarks about a convention and about dissolving the Constitution "as we did in 1944." IRVING

- 3 - Bureau (AM RM) 100-26603
- 1 - Albany (CP, Dist. #2 - CP Line) (RM)
- 1 - New York (CP, Dist. #2 - CP Line) (RM)
- 6 - Buffalo (1 - 100-4379-92) (1 - 100-4379-69, ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100-11803, [redacted]) (1 - 100-10462, [redacted])
  - (1 - 100-11803, [redacted]) (1 - 100-10122, MILTON KAPLAN)

EJS:ave  
(11)

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[redacted] jvn

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AUGUST 14, 1956

DIRECTOR (100-3-92)

RE: CPUSA, DIST.#2, BUFFALO DIV. - LINE

GOFF believes that these discussions will last four or five years. He predicts the convention will decide on "a new Constitution which will tackle everything that appeared in the trials so that they can't say that we -----; it will be a political party; in relation to democratic centralism there will be greater democracy; an independent American party; not sure on organization, on elections; attention will be given to shop workers and Smith Act rectification of errors." GOFF does not think it will be the last thing in theory.

[redacted] then asks whether there has been any further discussion about the order of the convention and mentions that [redacted] (active CP member at Buffalo, NY) came back and said the National Convention will be held first. IRVING GOFF then replied that "We're working under the Constitution of 1950 -- clubs, sections, counties, district, and the national." IRVING GOFF thinks there'll be two conventions, "a convention to accept rather than report back, ---- a ratification of the new organization." GOFF then talks about the convention dissolving with the suggestion that clubs organize to elect delegates to a new convention of the new organization.

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GOFF stated he is "not going to subject himself to a 20 year Smith Act sentence on a camouflaged organization as a member of the National Committee." IRVING GOFF then commented about the convention being open with statements to the press, etc.

[redacted] pointed out that shop workers want to be represented at the convention. GOFF replied "Well, you'll be there, but no steel workers because the next day they'd be bounced out of their jobs." IRVING GOFF said "In 1945, there were 150 people on the National Board, then in 1950 there were 12 and the alternates. They picked up the 12 and then the alternates. Who are you going to elect?" In connection with elections, GOFF mentioned someone trying to accomplish [redacted] and added "I know [redacted] very well."

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XXXXX

TO: DIRECTOR (100-3-92)

RE: CPUSA, DIST. (2), BUFFALO DIV. - LHM

On the evening of 8/13/56, according to BU 140-97, an Industrial Section meeting of the CP was held at the residence of MILTON HAPLAN, Buffalo, N. Y. One of the individuals present asked if all the clubs are meeting in the next month and discussing the convention. He then continued by asking the following questions:

1. How is the county elected and when?
2. Are all dues paid to the state?
3. Was anything written on democratic centralism in this country?
4. How do you develop people ideologically?
5. What is the purpose of an industrial club?

MILTON HAPLAN, active CP member, replied that the county leadership was never elected. HAPLAN then brought up the point that some of the best people have contacts and won't be able to attend the convention, thus depriving the Party of some of the best brains. He stated that delegates are to be committed to resolutions by the section.

[redacted] active CP member, then talked about having the privilege of being on Upstate Board meeting, at which there was a representative from Upstate and from community, but none from industrial. An argument developed in which [redacted] defended himself against "name-dropping" and defended his having discussed IRVING GOFF with [redacted] (Coordinator of CP activities in Upstate New York) because so many people had told him IRVING GOFF was not doing anything. [redacted] then launched into a long discussion of the resentment of local Party people against Party people coming from NYC and discussing to them.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43)

DATE: 8/13/56

FROM: SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
KINGS COUNTY  
IS-C

IDENTITY OF INFORMANT NY 1657-S\*

RELIABILITY Who has furnished reliable information in the past

DATE OF ACTIVITY July 18, 1956

DATE OF RECEIPT July 18, 1956

AGENT RECEIVING INFORMATION SA HAROLD K. ALLEN, JR.

LOCATION 100-26603-Sub 31

NY 1657-S\* furnished information on 7/18/56 to the effect that a meeting (believed to be of Section Organizers) was held on that date at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, New York, a CP County meeting place. NY 1657-S\* furnished the following information:

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[redacted] announced that the order of business on that evening was a discussion of the DENNIS and the [redacted] reports and also a discussion of what the comrades present thought that the Party should be like.

- 1 - 100-92547 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-51955 [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - 100-117158 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-52959 [redacted] (20-11)
- 1 - 100-50806 (GEORGE CHARNEY) (12-14)
- 1 - 100-23290 [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - 100-18667 [redacted] (12-14)
- 1 - 100-13473 (SIMON GERSON) (12-14)
- 1 - 100-89691 (CP DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (19)
- 1 - 100-95583 (CP LINE) (19)
- 1 - 100-24448 (LILLIAN GATES) (12-14)
- 1 - J. F. HIGGINS (20-11)
- 1 - 100-26603 -C43

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100-95583-329

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19 JUL 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JTO:axm  
(13)

MEMO

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C  
NY 100-26603-C43

An unidentified male called [ ] (believed to be [ ]) urged the assembled comrades to read GIL GREEN'S book entitled "Where Do We Go From Here" and also an article in PA (believed to be "Political Affairs") on the subject of the new united front on Socialism. [ ] stated that the latter article contained a number of ways to transform the Party.

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[ ] commented that there was a need for a major examination of the Party and stated that he did not think that the question was one of right or left errors on the part of the Party but rather a question of the application of Marxism. [ ] stated that he thought that the assembled comrades knew that the most important forces of the Party were split and that this split would continue unless some radical changes were made.

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[ ] indicated that the Party had made some important advances in labor and in civil rights struggle through local organizations.

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[ ] then spoke on the following three points:

1. The programmatic outlook - how do we get from here to Socialism.
2. Some consideration of the causes and methods of our activity.
3. The structure of our Party.

[ ] indicated that what was needed at present was a government within the framework of capitalism which would pick up where the New Deal left off. [ ] stated that first we need an antitrust government and secondly we need the transition to Socialism. [ ] indicated that he did not think that we were in a stage now that was conducive to working toward any transition to Socialism and stated that it may be necessary to resort to a program of pseudo-Socialism, such as the Socialist Party in Milwaukee has successfully practiced.

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MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

[ ] stated that the main problem in the Party today was to make it a democratic organization which would entail reorganizing the Party.

[ ] stated that elementary things would have to be achieved such as the nomination of candidates from the floor, discussions of candidates, secret balloting, and the holding of periodic and regular elections.

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[ ] stated that he did not believe that the differences of opinion on the part of the National Committee should be concealed.

[ ] stated that the Party leadership at present is elected in the following manner:

Each club elects delegates to the section convention. The section convention elects three to six delegates to the county convention. The county convention elects three to six delegates to the state convention - out of a total of 400. The state convention elects delegates to the national convention. The national convention elects the National Committee and the National Committee elects the national officers.

[ ] stated that he thought this should be changed to bring about a system of direct representation at the conventions, direct elections of the committee and direct elections of the officers and so on down the line.

[ ] stated that for example he thought that six individuals should be nominated for the position of national President. The ballot should be mailed out and the elections handled accordingly.

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[ ] stated that the various sections should be called by another name such as Assembly Districts.

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

[ ] stated that he thought that the sections should directly elect delegates to the county and national conventions and he proposed that the Party should have a state representative assembly which would meet four times a year at stated intervals at the request of the state committee in order to make policy. [ ] continued that the assembly should consist of one delegate from every club or section or however else they would choose. [ ] indicated that this would bring about direct representation on a policy making level.

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[ ] indicated that the budget should be submitted for adoption and that the majority and minority views should be printed and that matters of the draft resolution and criticisms thereto should be distributed to the membership as is done in major organizations.

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[ ] proposed that a system of sections could be set up on the state committees and that the number of functionaries on the state committee be limited.

[ ] stated they should insure that all policy making committees would have a majority of shop workers on such committee and that there was a need for a majority rule.

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[ ] stated that the National Committee should have the right to act at trade union conventions but that they should only make policy of a general or national nature.

[ ] stated that he thought that a change of Party name should be made as a token of the fact that they were anxious to dump the bad habits, methods of work, policies and practices of the past, including the non-Marxist and unscientific line.

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MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C

[ ] stated that he thought that they ought to remain a political party but that they should have the shops as a basis of the organization.

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[ ] stated that he was going to propose a change of name, structure, outlook, and contribution, and indicated that he saw nothing wrong with this being done and the first step being the dissolution of the Party and subsequently the adoption of the constitution of another organization.

[ ] announced that this discussion would continue on the following Wednesday evening at 8:00 p.m.

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[ ] stated that he wanted to discuss and set up a County Committee at this next meeting. [ ] stated that the Committee would be composed of the Section Organizers, County Staff, and a few others. [ ] added that it would be comprised of from twenty to twenty five people to guide the organization until such time as they would hold elections.

[ ] stated that there was a remarkable unanimity on the State Board concerning current discussions. [ ] commented that the old State Board consisted of GEORGE CHARNEY, [ ], SI GERSON, and LILLIAN GATES.

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The following phonetic first names were mentioned at the instant meeting:

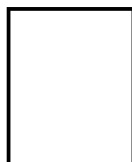
[ ]

JOHN

[ ]  
DOTTIE

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

RE: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2  
IS-C



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A photographic surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, on 7/18/56 and photos of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts are being undertaken to effect identification of these individuals. Photos of individuals identified will be disseminated to the respective main case files and photos of unidentified individuals will be maintained in 100-26603-1A6509, pending identification.



CDe 9  
9-24-

SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-043)

9/13/56

SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

CP, USA DIST. 2, KINGS COUNTY  
IS-C

Informant  
Reliability

NY 1657-S\*  
Who has furnished reliable  
information in the past

Date Furnished  
Date of Receipt  
Agent Receiving  
Location

8/6/56  
8/6/56  
THOMAS J. MC NIFF  
100-26603-31

On 7/25/56, NY 1657-S\* furnished the following  
information:

[redacted] on 7/25/56, announced that the  
next section organizers meeting would be held on 8/6/56.

NY 1657-S\* furnished the following information  
on 8/6/56:

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A meeting was held on 8/6/56, at 1212 Kings  
Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP County meeting place.

A female referred to as [redacted] spoke of discussions  
held at her section meeting and enumerated the following  
points discussed:

1. Decisions of leaders should be commented upon by the cadre.
2. New names proposed for the party.
3. Relationship between the proposed new party and Socialism.
4. Meaning of "Mass Party".

- 1 - NY 100-52959 [redacted] (#20-11) 100-95582-330
- 1 - NY 100-92547 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#19)
- 1 - Supervisor Sec. 20-11 (J. F. HIGGINS)

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JTO:MIM

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

[redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) spoke  
and made the following points:

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1. The Party organization needs changes and needs to conform to present day American traditions and customs.
2. He disagreed with the theory that now the Party has to drop Leninism and adopt Marxism. He believes that both go hand in hand, and that if Leninism was dropped it was only one step from dropping Marxism.
3. He disagreed that the national committee and the present leadership must go and stated that it would hurt the Party on all levels. He stated that he did not believe that the Party is as bureaucratic as some critics claim, but admitted that there is probably some room for democracy.
4. The national leadership has been dispersed for the past five years and because of world shaking fundamental positions taking place, this leadership was unable to grope with the gravity and breadth of the questions involved. The leaders were in isolation individually, however, the first question on their minds was the masses of people. When these leaders came back and issued their first report, the report of the national committee, the report was inadequate, but now the leaders are feeling the pulse of the Party and are beginning to grab the reins.
5. The opinion is now that every section and club should take a part in the ruling of the Party and that Party issues and problems should be discussed at the lowest levels.
6. One of the main problems now, is that there is a certain faction who are convinced that the Party is old fashioned and this faction is unwilling to give the leadership a chance to catch up.

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

7. The New York Party is way ahead of the rest of the country in the matter of discussions. Most New York comrades want the most advanced and boldest thinking to come out of the national committee and not to have any compromise in regard to the Negro question. Certain factions most forceful in fighting for Party changes are solemn theorists who advocate (a) that the Negro question is a moral and legal question; (b) white chauvanism must be outlawed in the Party; (c) the Party should struggle for programs that exist in the mass organizations such as the NAACP.

MAX (WEISS) at the committee meeting raised a couple of points about developing the approach of the Party in making any change. MAX differed with [redacted] report, discussed before members of the Party, to wait until the resolution had been presented to the national committee first. This was interpreted as discouraging discussions and since MAX has been called bureaucratic [redacted] stated that this was unfortunate.

[redacted] (believed to be [redacted]) spoke and made the following points:

1. There is no campaign against the national committee on any level. The only campaign is that the Party membership would, with justification, like to influence a resolution before it descends upon them. [redacted] stated that he agreed with this, and added that the brains of the Party are not exclusive with just a few of the leaders. He added that he wanted to have a voice in his Party and to help his national leadership.

2. [redacted] stated that he did not believe that the Party should be dissolved and that the Party was no obstacle to obtaining Socialism. He stated that they would have to review all of the Leninist precepts and studying its meaning and applicability to our present scene. [redacted] stated that the only criticism he had of the national committee and of the 20th National Congress (CP, USSR)

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C43

was that they did not get into the question of theoretical concepts and help develop them into its fullest extent.

3. [ ] stated that in his opinion the Party is more isolated today than ever before and there is a general loss of mass organization.

The following phonetic first names were mentioned at the instant meeting:

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[ ]

A photographic surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, on 8/6/56, and photos of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts are being undertaken to effect identification of these individuals. Photos of individuals identified will be disseminated, where appropriate, to the respective main case files and photos of unidentified individuals will be maintained in 100-26603-1A6509, pending identification.

100-26603-1A6509

100-26603-1A6509

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Date: SEP 20 1956

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-34927)(#19)

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP, USA  
DISTRICT #3  
Eastern Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia Field Division  
IS-C

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Source: [redacted] (Protect by T symbol)  
Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past  
Date of activity: 7/21,22/56  
Date Received: 7/23/56  
Received by: SA [redacted]  
Location: Instant file

- 11-Philadelphia (100- )
- (1-100- [redacted] (LNU), wife of TOM NABRIED)
- (1-100- [redacted] Cominfil, UE) (1-100- [redacted])
- (1-100- [redacted] (1-100- TOM NABRIED)
- (1-100- [redacted] ) (1-100- Mrs. DAVIS)
- (1-100- JAMES MATLES) (1-100- Cominfil, USWA)
- (1-100- [redacted] (RM) (Encs.3)
- 6-Newark (100- )
- (1-100- [redacted] (LNU), [redacted] of TOM NABRIED)
- (1-100-8670--Cominfil, UE) (1-100- JAMES MATLES)
- (1-100- CP, USA Line) (1-100- Cominfil, USWA)(RM)
- 1-[redacted] (P&C)
- 1-NY 100-13644 (Cominfil, UE)(7-1)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP Line)(#19)
- 1-NY 100-18672 (MAX WEISS)
- 1-NY 100-26864 (JAMES MATLES)(7-1)
- 1-NY 100-27581 (Cominfil, USWA)(7-1)
- 1-NY 97-169 (Worker)(7-2)
- 1-NY 100-80507 (EUGENE DENNIS)(#19)
- 1-NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)(20-10)

SEP 20 1956 11 25 43

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JPH:LSW  
(27)

*W*

SEP 20 1956

100-95583-331

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 20 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

MEMO

NY 100-34927

[redacted] was contacted on 7/23/56 by SAS [redacted] NYO, and BRYAN F. JINNETT, JR., of the Newark Office, at which time informant furnished the following information orally.

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Information contained in this memorandum, as furnished by [redacted], must not be disseminated outside the Bureau unless it is paraphrased so as to protect the identity of the informant.

On 7/23/56 [redacted] advised that during the week end of 7/21,22/56, he was visited at his residence by [redacted] and family, [redacted] and family, and TOM NABRIED and his [redacted] described as a Negro woman, employed at Campbell's Soup Co., Camden, NJ. According to the informant, NABRIED, [redacted] and [redacted] comprised the top CP leadership in Eastern Pennsylvania.

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From conversation between the informant and [redacted], [redacted] and NABRIED, the informant ascertained that the three people mentioned above exhibited no tendency of harsh criticism of the CP at the present time. The informant stated they exhibited the air that whatever happens due to the internal strife within the CP is "okay" with them. The informant stated that in a mild way the above people were critical of the CP and argued that certain changes within the CP should be made.

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[redacted] was particularly upset over the mistakes made by the CP in the labor movement. These mistakes, according to [redacted] caused him the loss of his position at UE in Phila. [redacted] further stated that many mistakes that were made by the CP were made due to the Party's position of being pro-Soviet.

The informant stated that Mrs. [redacted] currently in charge of the CP office in Phila., was much sharper in her denunciation of the CP. Mrs. [redacted] advised the informant that they had been to NY on 3 or 4 occasions attempting to get something done on the steel and Westinghouse strikes in which they, the Phila. people, were interested. According to Mrs. [redacted], when the Phila. people arrived at NY, they were advised that a meeting on the Westinghouse strike had been held 6/10/56 and that the next meeting concerning the strike was set for 8/7/56.

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MEMO

NY 100-34927

Mr. [ ] stated to the informant in this regard that he insisted upon the people of the NY CP meeting in order to decide what could be done in connection with the Westinghouse strike but got nowhere. [ ] stated to the informant that he, [ ] had spoken to MAX WEISS in NY, and that he, WEISS, shrugged his shoulders when questioned concerning the above strike. MAX WEISS stated that rather than the CP doing anything now, the Party should disengage itself from these problems.

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[ ] stated to the informant that the NY people are incompetent and have no desire to lend assistance to these matters. [ ] stated that the Philadelphia District is unable to get any assistance from the National CP setup, as it seems to be at a loss. According to the informant, [ ] stated that he is "out with an ax to get WEISS" as he, "WEISS, should not be in leadership."

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The informant learned from [ ] that JAMES MATLES, National Director of the UE, is doing his utmost to save the Westinghouse strike in the Westinghouse plant located south of Phila.

MATLES, according to the informant, had been a main Party member in the UE but recently came into conflict with the CP, but at present, he, MATLES, is not fighting the CP except on union matters.

[ ] stated to the informant that MATLES had gotten in touch with him recently and exhibited a friendly attitude and questioned [ ] why he did not contact him. At this time [ ] and MATLES spoke concerning the Westinghouse strike and what could be done to save the strike at Westinghouse. According to [ ] this discussion would be continued at a later date in NY.

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[ ] advised the informant that he, [ ], and [ ] went to the area of the Westinghouse plant south of Phila. on several occasions in order to make some connections with the strike. The informant stated that this strike is not a CP strike nor led by the CP. The informant stated that at

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MEMO

NY 100-34927

the present time the CP is attempting to get its finger into the strike through MATLES.

The informant learned from [ ] that the CP in NY was not lifting a finger to assist in the steel strike and that the Philadelphia people are attempting to handle it on a local basis. According to the informant, the Philadelphia people stated that they would try to handle the strike there by holding meetings of the CP people from all areas with the aim of getting a foothold in the union locals and to have these locals follow the CP view in the steel strike.

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The informant stated that the Philadelphia CP had furnished information to the various CP groups in the area consisting of the following:

A memo to all clubs dated 7/6/56, which memo reflects "we submit the material in this special issue on facts and figures on the steel strike and propose the study of this material in all sections and clubs."

A mimeographed leaflet entitled "Is the Steel Strike Your Business", issued as a public service by the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, 250 South Broad St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

A booklet entitled "Pennsylvania In Facts and Figures, dated July, 1956.

This material is being forwarded to Philadelphia as an enclosure.

The informant stated that the Philadelphia CP, in its attempt to put its finger in the Westinghouse and steel strikes, is doing so without success. The failure on their part to make progress in this venture is due primarily to the internal strife in the Philadelphia CP. According to informant, they will have no success in this venture until the internal strife in the Phila. CP is clear.



MEMO

NY 100-34927

According to the informant, the members of the Phila. CP claim that the existing party is in a turmoil due to the results of inter-party discussions. Indicative of this turmoil is an item which appeared in about the 7/8/56 issue of "The Worker" which was signed Philadelphian. [redacted] advised the informant that this article was written by [redacted], a leader of a CP district in Philadelphia.

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According to the informant, the membership in this district also felt embittered on the Jewish question and stated that there is widespread demoralization among all members of the Phila. CP.

[redacted] advised the informant that [redacted] is both unable and not the type of leader who could successfully handle the situation in Phila. According to [redacted], the situation requires one who can command more respect and who can exhibit more ability than [redacted]. [redacted] stated another complaint against [redacted] is that he was the only representative from the Phila. area on the 4/9/56 plenary when the EUGENE DENNIS report was made.

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[redacted] advised that upon [redacted] return to the Phila. area, he failed to make known that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was in opposition to the DENNIS report, thereby placing the leader of the CP in opposition to DENNIS. [redacted] advised that because of this, [redacted] should get "dumped" for trying to mislead the membership and leaders of the Party.

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SAC, NY (100-26603-C-42)

9/19/56

SA [redacted]

NY COUNTY CP - USA  
IS-C

Informant: [redacted]

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past

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Date of Activity: 8/25, 29/56

Date Furnished: 8/29/56

Furnished To: SA [redacted]

Location: [redacted]

The informant furnished an oral report on 8/29/56, which report was reduced to writing, read and signed by the informant on 9/11/56.

"I visited the cigar store of [redacted] on August 29, 1956. When I arrived, [redacted] was conversing with an individual whom I have never seen before.

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- 1- [redacted] (PCC) (#7-3)
- 1-NY 100-25593 (EARL BROWDER) (#20-9)
- 1-NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#19)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP Line) (#19)
- 1-NY 100-62906 [redacted] (#12-15)
- 1-NY 100-57644 [redacted] (#12-16)
- 1-NY 100-26603-C-42

SEP 11 1956

WJL:pec  
(7)

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100-95583-332

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 19 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

9/21

MEMO  
NY 100-26603-C-42

9/19/56

"but who was apparently a customer at the store. They were discussing the activity on the part of undisclosed number of Communist Party members, who had recently submitted a proposal to change the Party line of the Communist Party without changing its basic principles and ideals. This group feels that the Party should soften its approach on many issues in order that the Party could gradually appear to be less radical. In this way, according to the group, many individuals who were either former members of the Party or are secretly in sympathy with the Party would be more likely to join the Party and take part in open Party activity. With the added support of these formerly timid individuals, the Party could resume its participation in national and local politics, and might even consider running its own candidates for elections.

[redacted] and this unidentified individual were of the opinion that this proposal, which has already been drawn up, might be introduced for discussion at the next Communist Party convention. [redacted] stated that the proposal, consisting of some 250 pages, may have already been submitted to the Central Committee for study. [redacted] and the unidentified individual agreed that the Central Committee would undoubtedly reject this proposal, inasmuch as its contents closely resemble the ideas of EARL BROWDER, which the Party had previously rejected. They stated that they did not know if the proposal would be printed in the "Daily Worker."

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"This unidentified individual was white, about 50 years old, 5 foot, 140 pounds, bald headed, with a light complexion.

"I went to see [redacted] on Saturday, August 25, 1956, at 7 p.m. She told me that [redacted] had been to see her about an hour before, but that she was unable to talk with anyone, inasmuch as relatives were visiting her at that time."

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-78661)(#7-2) DATE: 9/28/56

FROM : SA [redacted] (#7-4)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FEDERATION OF POLISH JEWS  
IS-C

Source	[redacted] (protect by T symbol)
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past.
Date of Activity	8/8/56
Date Received	8/12/56
Received by	SA [redacted]
Location	[redacted]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

By report dated 8/8/56, informant furnished information which reflected that [redacted] is presently preparing a book entitled, "Days and Years in the Working Class Movement," at the initiative of the American Federation of Polish Jews. This book will be published in October, 1956.

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- 1 - [redacted] (P&C) (#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-110636 [redacted] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-87248 [redacted] (#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-68022 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-80124 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-99244 [redacted] (#12-14)
- 1 - NY 100-81675 (CP, USA PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-2936 (IWO) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-21 (MORNING FREIHEIT) (#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-18672 (MAX WEISS) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-49162 (CPSU) (#19)

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# JPH:RCM

14

100-95583-333

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 28 1956	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted] [handwritten signature]

Report

B. Chazanoff Book Committee Aug. 8, 1956  
New York

[redacted] told me that [redacted] is at present preparing a book which will be published shortly.

The book, which [redacted] is writing, will be called "Days and Years in the Working Class Movement." [redacted] told me that that at the initiative of the American Federation of Polish Jews a special [redacted] Book Committee was organized which will be in charge of the publication and the distribution of the [redacted] book.

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The secretary of the [redacted] Book Committee is [redacted]; [redacted] is the honorary [redacted] and [redacted] is the chairman of this committee.

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It is expected that this book will come out in October 1956 and for this occasion there will be a banquet in honor of [redacted].

[redacted] is a member of the right wing organization of the "arbaiter ring." For years he worked in the "arbaiter Ring" carrying through the line of the Communist party and the policies of the I.W.O.

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I saw [redacted] at different mass meetings of progressives organizations often selling the Morning Freiheit.

Last time I saw [redacted] at the Communist party meeting "by invitations" at which Max Weiss made a report on the 20th Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

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J. Morris

(Att #1 to 100 - 95583 - 333 <sup>item</sup>)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-21)(#7-2) DATE 9/28/56  
FROM : SA [redacted] (#7-4)  
SUBJECT: MORNING FREIHEIT  
IS-C

Source [redacted] (protect by  
T symbol)  
Reliability Who has furnished reliable  
Date of Activity information in the past.  
Date Received 8/4,5/56  
Received by 8/23/56  
Location SA [redacted]

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The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is paraphrased.

By report dated 8/20/56, informant furnished information concerning the details of a "Morning Freiheit" conference held August 4,5,1956.

The purpose of this conference was to prepare "a mobilization" of the Jewish Communist progressive forces for the 35 anniversary of the "Morning Freiheit."

- 1 - [redacted] (P&C)(#7-4)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA)(#19)
- 1 - NY 100-48260 (J. BUDISH)(#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-49162 (CPSU)(#19)
- 1 - NY 100-80635 (CP, USA JEWISH ACTIVITIES)(#19)
- 1 - NY 100-73516 [redacted] (#12-10)
- 1 - NY 100-9365 (FOSTER)(#20-10)
- 1 - NY 100-8057 (DENNIS)(#19)
- 1 - NY 100-7918 (P. NOVICK)(#7-2)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA LINE)(#19)

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100-95583-334

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 28 1956	
FBI-NEW YORK	

#19  
w

Report

Communist Party U.S.A.  
activities

Aug. 20, 1956  
New York

Re: Morning Freiheit Conference.

J. Budish, member of the Morning Freiheit editorial board and editor of the Morning Freiheit week-end (Sunday) English page, gave me the following details of a Morning Freiheit conference which took place in New York on Aug. 4th and 5th, 1956:

This conference, Budish told me, was held for the purpose of preparing "a mobilization" of the Jewish Communist-progressive forces for the 35th anniversary of the Morning Freiheit. This was one of the reasons but there was another important reason - "the mobilization of our forces and the clarification of the political issues which were raised at the 20th congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union - the cult of the individual and the tragic end of the Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era."

Budish said that "many, many good communists and good progressives were morally crushed by the revelations of what has happened to the Jewish Culture in the land of socialism and many of our people began to waver, to doubt. Chaim [redacted] (national manager of the Morning Freiheit) went to the Soviet Union - "with the approval of the national chairman (Foster) and the general secretary (Dennis) of the party" (Communist) to investigate there the present conditions and the outlook for the future of the Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union and to bring an autentic report."

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Budish said that "[redacted]'s trip to the Soviet union was worth the efforts and expense the Morning Freiheit invested - his reports on conditions in the Soviet Union raised the moral of our comrades and the Morning Freiheit is presently trying to mobilize our forces, based on the [redacted] reports, to further advance the struggle for our political and economic aims in this country."

Att # 16/100-95583-334/da

Budish said that about 150 "comrades" participated in the above mentioned Morning Freiheit conference. In his report to the conference, Budish said, [redacted] underlined that the Morning Freiheit is continuing to "lead the struggle for the great social and cultural changes which will free mankind."

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[redacted] underlined that "the cold war and the McCarthy reaction aimed to stop the advance of the Jewish progressive culture; that the revelations on the liquidation of the Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union brought dissatisfaction in the progressive ranks and also served as a stopper in the struggle; - the vanguard of the Jewish progressive movement ("the communists") must lead the struggle to overcome these barriers and to continue the political-economic fight."

[redacted] also underlined that "the Morning Freiheit is leading this vanguard in the fight for liberation on a national and international scale" and that because of this [redacted] called upon the leaders at the conference to strengthen the Morning Freiheit by adopting his recommendations:

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To organize all over the country celebration in honor of 35 years of Morning Freiheit;

To connect these celebration with the 65th birthday of its editor, P. Novick;

To raise immediately a loan of \$60,000 for the M.F.;

To redouble the efforts to getting new readers for the M.F.;

To concentrate on getting special ads for the M.F. special New Year (Jewish) issue; and to organize special Morning Freiheit conferences and meetings at which he [redacted] will report on his trip to the Soviet Union. "Here [redacted] underlined that it took strength and socialist courage to come out and tell the world that something went wrong in our socialist country but we are going to right this wrong. This is what the leaders did and are now doing everything possible to reestablish the Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union-" This statement, Budish said, "made a big impression on the conference."

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Budish said that P. Novick, in his speech to the conference, stated that the Jewish progressive masses in this country did not get scared by the attacks of the McCarthy reaction. Novick underlined that the Jewish progressive movement continued its advance and enegetically resisted all the laws which were aimed at the distruction of the Bill of Rights. Novick underlined that the immediate program of action of the Jewish progressive movement is:

The struggle for a world peace; the fight for co-existence; for peace in the Middle East; for a secure and independent Israel; for the national liberation of the colonial people; for advancing of democracy. To strenghten the fight against the Smith Act, the Walter-McCarran law, the Taft-Hartky Act. To continue the fight for the civil rights of the 15 million negroes and of all national minority groups. To fight against racial discrimination in this country and all over the world. Novick, Budish said, called upon the American Jews to continue helping on the building of a 'democratic and independent Israel.

Novick said that the Morning Freiheit "will lead the Jewish masses in these struggles which will bring social and national liberation."

The conference adopted the recomendations of [redacted] and the recommendation of P. Novick, to instruct the Morning Freiheit to call a national Morning Freiheit conference. The decission about the date and the program will be made by the national leadership of the Morning Freiheit; - Budish said.

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J. Morris

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C41) DATE: 10/2/56

FROM : SA CHARLES D. SHORES

SUBJECT : CP, USA  
 DISTRICT #2  
 NEW YORK DIVISION (QUEENS COUNTY CP)  
 IS-C

SOURCE [redacted]

RELIABILITY Who has furnished reliable information in the past b7D

LOCATION [redacted]

Attached is a copy of a report dated 9/14/56 furnished by [redacted] on 9/17/56, setting forth the details of a CP meeting held at the home of [redacted] in Ridgewood, Queens.

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If any information furnished by this informant is used in a report or disseminated outside the Bureau, it must be carefully paraphrased to protect the identity of the informant.

- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - 100-108771 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-88084 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-119285 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-26603-C1445 (MASPETH SECTION)
- 1 - 100-81710 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-49738 (COMINTEL SOCIALIST PARTY) (7-2)
- 1 - 100-65505 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-20802 (ABRAHAM J. MUSTE)
- 1 - 100-16975 [redacted]
- 1 - 100 (CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION) (7-2)
- 1 - 100-129848 (UNSUB: DELEGATE ELKS CONVENTION, LOS ANGELES, AUGUST, 1956) (20-11)
- 1 - 100-120446 (ELKS) (7-2)
- 1 - 100-95583 (LINE) (19)
- 1 - 100-128814 (ORGANIZATION) (12-8)
- 1 - 100-87822 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-128822 (FACTIONALISM) (12-8)
- 1 - 100-128812 (POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (12-8)
- 1 - 100-128809 (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) (12-8)

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100-95583-335

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 1956 #19	
FBI - NEW YORK	

JAW

"Page 1

Frid Sept. 14-56

M.S.

"This evening I attended a C.P. meeting which was held at home of [redacted] in Ridgewood Queens. C.P. members present at meeting were [redacted] C.P. organizational secretary of Maspeth section. [redacted] Maspeth C.P. section organizer. Martin area 3 Membership and financial director and [redacted] (Negro) alias [redacted] This evening he was addressed as [redacted] had invited [redacted] to tonight's meeting in order to learn from [redacted] what is taking place in the party on the State and County level in order that [redacted] as Section C.P. organizer could pass the information on to the two organized C.P. clubs in the Maspeth section clubs are. The Tenants Club recently organized and the German-American Club. [redacted] did not show up until 9:05 P.M., he stated that he had to work late on his truck in answer to a question [redacted] stated that his work as truck driver consisted mostly of delivering hay to stables on the race tracks and that he received a flat rate of \$70.00 per week no matter how many hours he worked. Tom also stated that he has applied for Hack licenses and hoped to drive a Taxi soon, adding that his real goal is to land a job as long shoreman.

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[redacted] stated that a very brief report was received from [redacted] last night on discussions now going on and that he hoped that [redacted] would fill in more details tonight.

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" [redacted] stated that a present as each county leader is attempting to state their opinions as to which direction the party should take, and that our county C.P. organizer [redacted], and [redacted] are pretty well in agreement in so far that the C.P. should be desolved as far as the maine Communist party, is

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Att # 1 to 100 - 95583 - 335

concerned, and that we should form a coalition with other left to right organizations such as the Norman Thomas Socialist party and the Mustie group (Phonetic) and to work within such organization which have as yet not been labeled subversive,

[ ] than stated that he and [ ] the County C.P. Industrial organizer of Queens County are against the party being dissolved, because of the inroads made in Mass organizations in recent years for example [ ] stated that just recently a comrade who a few years ago ran for a local office on the A.L.P. ticket is now a leader of the Brooklyn and Queens Civil Libertys organization and that we in Queens were instrumental in sending him to the Elks convention where he made a speech which seconded the nomination of person to a high position in the Elks organization. [ ] than remarked to [ ] that the County C.P. financial secretary would reimburse the area 3 treasury for amount put out for the Elks delegate.

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[ ] than stated that [ ] feels that C.P. members with industry have been working correctly, and that the recent events which took place in the Soviet Union and discussions now going on among our party leadership will not effect their party work and that it would be foolish to dissolve the party, or even to change the party name.

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[ ] than added that [ ] being the Queens County C.P. industrial organizer is not answerable to the Queens County leadership any more, and because of a new arrangement all county Industrial organizers now take directives from the State. industrial organizer.

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[ ] further stated that now among some of our top leaders (no names mentioned) the discussion is so strong that some are even saying that our position which we took in the Koran War was incorrect because according to them the North

Koreans should of never crossed the 38 parlell in the first place.

"In conclusion [ ] stated that it was unfortunate, but the fact is [ ] is on the resolutions committee, and unless he changes his views his conclusion will appear in the draft resolution which will be out in a few weeks for discussion among our rank and file members.

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[ ] asked [ ] if he thought the party would be hurt because so many of active full time leaders now have been cut off the party payroll and had to go to work.

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[ ] answered that as far as he knew most of C.P. members who received full time pay welcomes the chance to go to work because being on the C.P. payroll a member would be the first to be picked up as a top leader by the F.B.I. [ ] added that only objection was was in the way the decision was made and that the rank and file of members had no voice in in who was to be paid full time and who was to be taken off the C.P. pay roll.

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[ ] than told [ ] that a county wide C.P. section organizers meeting in being called for Thursday Sept. 20 and that it is important that he attend the address and name of place of said meeting [ ] 119-36 164th St Jamaica adding if there would be a change he would notify [ ] by phone.

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[ ] also informed [ ] that he would be notified as to date and place of area 3 staff meeting.

"[ ] and I left at 11:45 P.M."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - United States Government

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) : DATE: October 5, 1956  
FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-2050)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Detroit letter to Director, dated 9/18/56 captioned "CP, USA ORGANIZATION; IS-C" and Chicago Airtel to Director, dated 6/29/56, captioned "CP, USA ORGANIZATION; IS - C," with carbon copies to Detroit, New York, Newark and San Francisco.

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the Informant.

CSDE-606-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 8/28/56 that CARL WINTER, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA had in his possession material pertaining to the Communist Party. Contained in this material was a notebook bearing handwritten notes which obviously pertained to meetings of the National Committee CP, USA, held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22-24, 1956 and the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the National Committee CP, USA on June 26, 1956 in New York City.

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 8 - Chicago (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-19841 MAX WEISS)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA FACTIONALISM)
  - (1 - 134-46
- 5 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100- ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)
  - (1 - 100- [redacted])
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
  - (1 - 100- CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

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PMH/lmw  
(78)

33 - New York

100-95583-336

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 8 1956	
NEW YORK	

[redacted]

DE 100-2050

4 - Newark (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-2974 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

35 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100-304032 (LOU BURNHAM) (1-100-
- (1 - 100-9984 AL BLUMBERG) (1-100-
- (1 - 100-50806 GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (1-100-
- (1 - 100-23825 BEN DAVIS, JR.)
- (1 - 100-8057 EUGENE DENNIS)
- (1 - 100-89816 FRED FINE)
- (1 - 100-9365 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
- (1 - 100-22066 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-19723 JOHN GATES)
- (1 - 100- LILLIAN GATES)
- (1 - 100-16785 JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.)
- (1 - 100-18677 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-50983 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-64755 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-23290 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-28609 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-9573 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-18065 JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100-50090 SID STEIN)
- (1 - 100-66211 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-20649 ED STRONG)
- (1 - 100-23290 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-18672 MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-54899 LEONWOPSY)
- (1 - 100- SI GERSON)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-81757 CP, USA BRIEF)
- (1 - 100-87211 CP, USA FACTIONALISM)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA LINE)
- (1 - 100-86624 CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100-80641 (19)CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

FNU [REDACTED]  
FNU [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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5 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- THOMAS NABRIED)
- (1 - 100-7889 ED STRONG)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)

DE 100-2050

- 4 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
    (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
    (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
    (1 - 100- CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 6 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100- [REDACTED])  
    (1 - 100- WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)  
    (1 - 100- OLETA YATES)  
    (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
    (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)  
    (1 - 100- CP, USA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 9 - Detroit (REGISTERED)  
    (1 - 100-8482 THOMAS DENNIS)  
    (1 - 100-945 NAT GANLEY)  
    (1 - 100-15793 SAUL WELLMAN)  
    (1 - 100-13420 CARL WINTER)  
    (1 - 100-3016 COLEMAN YOUNG)  
    (1 - 100-24727 CP, USA DISTRICT 7 ORGANIZATION)  
    (1 - 100-16980 CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
    (1 - 100-2817 CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION)

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Referenced Chicago Airtel revealed that CG-5824-S\* orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN E. KEATING on 6/28/56. This information had been received by CG-5824-S\* on that date from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the Administrative Committee of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA had meet in New York City on Tuesday, 6/26/56. Among those attending this meeting were the following persons.

EUGENE DENNIS  
JOHN GATES  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN  
MAX WEISS  
CARL WINTER.

The purpose of this meeting was to establish various commissions which will prepare resolutions and suggestions to be presented to the National Convention of the CP, USA.



CG-5824-S\* furnished additional information which was reported in referenced Airtel to the Bureau. Inasmuch as the information furnished by GSDE-606-S\* confirms and may in some instances add to the information furnished by CG-5824-S\*, the text of the notes concerning the meeting of June 26, 1956 of the Administrative Committee is being set forth in this letter.

The notes are written in outline form and abbreviations are used extensively. In most instances the text of the notes is quite clear, however, therefore the Detroit Office is substituting complete words for the abbreviations and where necessary a minimum of words to make the meaning clear.

The following is the text of the notes.

Supreme Court

Complaints of critics of the Supreme Court requires an answer, especially while the Smith Act etc. is pending.

Pre-Convention Commissions:

On Period Between Conventions

[redacted] - Ed - FF  
[redacted]

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1956 Platform

(Schn. Si - Lil Rob H  
(Al Bl. (Lou)

Resolutions on Negro Question

(Ben  
(Geo. Bl.

Commission on Trade Unions

(CW  
[redacted]

Commission on Personnel

(Martha Bill N.  
(Geo. W Childs

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Commission on the Constitution

(Claude Geo. Bl.  
(Gates Steve. CW

[redacted]

On Report by Genl. Secy. Sit. & Next Tasks

(GD Adm C & Sid  
(JJ

DE 100-2050

For the possible assistance of other offices, the Detroit Office will set out below the possible identities of the individuals mentioned by initials or first name, etc. on the commissions.

Commission on Period Between Conventions

Mac - MORRIS WEISS  
Ed - ED STRONG  
FF - FRED FINE

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

1956 Platform

Schn - WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN  
Al Bl - AL BLUMBERG  
Si - SI GERSON  
Lil - LILLIAN GATES  
Rob H - ROBERT HALL  
(Lou) - LOU BURNHAM

Resolutions on Negro Question

Ben - BEN DAVIS, JR.  
Geo. Bl. - GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

Commission on Trade Unions

CW - CARL WINTER

[REDACTED]

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Commission on Personnel

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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b7C

Childs - MORRIS CHILDS

Commission on the Constitution

Claude - CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
Gates - JOHN GATES  
Geo. Bl. - GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

[REDACTED]

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Commission on the Constitution (Continued)

[ ] - Unknown  
[ ] - Possibly [ ] or LEON WOFSY.

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The last notation in the above list of commissions "On Report by Genl. Secy. Sit & Next Tasks" appears to indicate that the General Secretary will give a report on the current situation in the Party and its future tasks.

GD - GENE DENNIS  
JJ - JAMES JACKSON  
Adm C - Administrative Committee  
Sid - SID STEIN

The two individuals listed in the brackets in the notes appear to be the Chairman and Secretary of the Commission. The names following appear to be assistants on the Commission.

(Notes continued)

Cut National staff 1/2 - 10 - 30 days  
Release [ ] from the center, (possibly [ ]  
or LEON WOFSY)

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National Committee schedule  
8/23 National Committee on drafts of the Convention  
Commission reports and resolutions.  
9/15-16-17 Election Conference.

GENE DENNIS Regarding "The Daily Worker".

Agreed with MAX WEISS's report to the National Committee on the 20th Congress of the CPSU regarding the responsibility of the whole CP, USA leadership and need for new relations between CPs.

Agreed with MAX WEISS's draft of statement on KHRUSHCHEV's Executive Report when originally offered.

Stands by self-criticism on method of article to "Daily Worker."

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Attitude to editorials

On Rajk. - agreed 95%.

Disagreed with declaration that represents "Betrayal of Socialism."

Disagrees with demand for "bringing to bar of justice all responsible" when CC of CP's shared responsibility.

Disagreed with call for abolishment of capital punishment through United Nations. Is for the abolishment of capital punishment in the United States at the present.

Second Editorial on KHRUSHCHEV's report

Disagreed with call for immediate new party and reflected the view that the CP, USA was discredited to the point of needing an immediate replacement.

Disagreed with the groveling apology regarding the roll of the CP, USA.

Columns

AWB on "debacle" of power 15 years.

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[redacted] - Protested execution of four BEREA Agents (illegible)

[redacted] - Mentor of (illegible) of Polish and Czechoslovakia CP's.

Letters

All are published without criticism (including sh\_\_) while only J. ALLEN's article is accompanied by disclaimer.

The GENE DENNIS article should have employed more positively the roll of the "Daily Worker" in international criticism, but there are some excesses; especially one sidedness in treatment reflecting working class solidarity and internationalism. The "Daily Worker" is not combatting the barrage of New York Times, etc. on Communist Party ideology and there is insufficient emphasis on what CP Soviet Union leadership has done in the last three years.

JOHN GATES then spoke

JOHN GATES was taken aback after GENE DENNIS's self-criticism that GENE DENNIS proposed that JOHN GATES should write an article agreeing with the GENE DENNIS article. He stated that this does not correspond with the National Committee's statement just issued and cannot say that the "Daily Worker" was wrong and TOGLIATTI is right. GATES stated that GENE DENNIS did not reflect any criticism of the CP Soviet leaders or criticize their attitude toward the lands of Socialism in the question and answer article on the Jewish's question in the latest "Daily Worker" article.

GATES agreed in answer to J. ALLEN's article that the Rajk. editorial formulation "on betrayal" was bad. It was also bad the way the new Party of Socialism was put in the "Daily Worker" editorial. JOHN GATES stated that all the criticism by GENE DENNIS is picayune compared with the five months line of the "Daily Worker." The National Committee statement would not have been unanimous if the TOGLIATTI statement had not appeared. GENE DENNIS has been too timid, slow and cautious. The GENE DENNIS article was wrong in saying that the highest form of self-correction is self-criticism between leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There is no need to write about correction and overcoming differences around the GENE DENNIS article in the "Daily Worker." The National Committee statement and oral positions will clarify.

MAX MORRIS WEISS then spoke

There are two reactions to the National Committee statement in the party. 1. It is welcomed. 2. There is frustration because other CP's spoke before the CP, USA. From now on we must express ourselves regardless of what other Communist Parties say. We still have on our board some who are under the influence of authoritarian attitude to other CP's. GENE DENNIS's wrong views determined his article. 1. Self-correction is the most important part of self-criticism but does not bare roots of error. While errors were not inherent in Socialism they have been in the structure of the Soviet Union. 2. Criticism will lead to a struggle vs. the Soviet Union. 3. The Soviet leadership is responsible for the break down of collectivity rather than sharing in errors themselves.

DE 100-2050

WEISS suggested that they withdraw criticism of the "Daily Worker" for printing the KHRUSHCHEV report because it was necessary to print despite dissatisfaction (illegible). Criticism does not mean joining in organization of mass pressures in the country vs. lines of other Socialist countries. (Conn. letter to MAO; J. petition.) Editorial apology did not distinguish between real enemies of Socialism and Socialism Democracy, etc. whom we differed with. It is necessary to see that even re. the latter we were right on the basic question of position, etc. and they were wrong. What do these tangential formulations mean (are they beginning to affect the main line of the Communist Party)?

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN then spoke

The National Committee should determine if the "Daily Worker" is the Party spokesman or not. Editorial policies must be decided by the National Committee and main editorials wait for approval. CP membership is dissatisfied with what looks to them like an independent or personal organ. (As a result they pick and choose part of editorials and articles they agree with or are insensed by vs. what is right by what they find wrong).

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was the next speaker

There is harmful development in discussions, in that (illegible) shapes up. There is a need to seek points of agreement as a basis for progress. It requires patience to carry along the Party as a whole. The National Committee statement was a good step forward. Most of the Illinois CP Board disagrees with the "Daily Worker" editorial and will greet the National Committee statement on criticism on Socialist lands, but will not be satisfied with other editorials in the "Daily Worker."

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[redacted] was the last speaker

There is no unanimous agreement anywhere on the present discussion. The CP membership reacted vs. Rajk editorial phase betrayal. The "Daily Worker" did an important service in opening discussion. Stampeding tendencies in discussions are old hangovers and the Party suffers now from old differences in the "Daily Worker" Party relations. The "Daily Worker" writers are not in touch with the membership of the rest of the United States.

Inserted between the pages of the notebook in the above section of notes were four 3 X 5 sheets of paper bearing notations which apparently pertain to individuals who will serve or were proposed to serve on the various commissions. The possible identities of some of these individuals who are mentioned on these pieces of paper have been set forth in a previous section of this letter. In instances where individuals were not mentioned before there possible identities will be set forth. Set forth below are the notations as they appear on Page 1 of the 3 X 5 notes:

"Est of Work betw Coms

FF  
Ed S } Mac  
          } [redacted] SW  
          } (JkS)

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Platform = '56 elects

Bill Schn } Si  
Al Bl     } Lil  
          } [redacted]  
          } [redacted]  
          } (Lou)  
          } [redacted] TD

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b7C

Page 2

"N resolutions  
(incl. self-det.)

Ben }  
G Blake } (Chas.)

TU  
(incl. Labor Day strut)  
Incl. stmt as Morr Art on UE

Gates or CW } Morr.  
[redacted]     } Bernie Fr.  
              } (JkS)

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<drafts by Aug 15>  
= Mt in No. 8/23-24

DE 100-2050

Page 3

"Personnel

[Redacted]  
Geo W

Bill Norm  
Louise T  
Nabried  
Childs

b6  
b7C

Const.

Gates  
Claude

G. Blake  
Gates

(Draft  
by Oct 1  
for NC  
& issue  
Nov.)

[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

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Page 4

"Res.

JJ  
Mac

[Redacted]

Oleta

[Redacted]

Alan M.

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b7C

~~NC~~

Program

Farm

Youth

Conv. Arrangements."

Possible identities:

Page 1

[Redacted]

JkS - JACK STACHEL

SW - SAUL WELLMAN

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[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

TD - THOMAS DENNIS



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Page 2

Possible identities:

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] - Unknown  
Bernie Fr. - BERNARD FRIEDLAND

Possible identities:

Page 3

[REDACTED]

Nabried - THOMAS NABRIED  
H.W. - HELEN WINTER

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[REDACTED]

Possible identities:

Page 4

Oléta - OLETA YATES

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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A photographic copy of the above material is maintained in Detroit File 100-13420-1B-11.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603C1214)

DATE: 9/26/56

FROM: SA JAMES E. HASTINGS (12-16)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2,  
HARLEM REGION  
IS-C

Source	NY 1823-S*
Reliability	Who is in a position to furnish reliable information
Concealment	Cover by T symbol
Date of Activity	9/4/56
Date Received	9/4/56
Received by	
Location	Instant Memo

On the evening of 9/4/56, NY 1823-S\* made available

- 1-Chicago (61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (RM)
- 1-NY-100-26603C42 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, NY County) (12-14)
- 1-NY-100-128819 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, International Relations) (12-14)
- 1-NY-100-128823 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, Domestic Administration Issues) (12-14)
- 1-NY-100-128814 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, Organization) (12-14)
- 1-NY-100-128812 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, Political Activities) (12-14)
- 1-NY-100-128821 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, Factionalism) (12-14)
- 1-NY 100-95583 (CP, USA, Line) (19)
- 1-NY-100-128815 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, Negro Question) (12-14)
- 1-NY-100-103973 [redacted] (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-68478 [redacted] (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-98699 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1-NY-100-9369 (TED BASSETT) (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-25840 [redacted] (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-88395 [redacted] (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-24638 (ABNER BERRY) (12-16)
- 1-NY-100-18672 (MAX WEISS) (7-5)
- 1-NY-100-26603C1214

JEH:FMC  
(19)

100-95583-337

19

JVH

Memo

NY 100-26603C1214

information concerning a meeting of the Douglas Club (Harlem Region CP) at Bermuda Hall, 402 W. 146th St., NYC. The information furnished by source is set forth below:

At 9:04 PM an unidentified speaker opened the meeting and acted as temporary chairman. He set forth the following agenda for the evening: 1) the election of a chairman; 2) a discussion of the Party, its dissolution and effect; 3) the question of the secretariat; and 4) the Party program for Harlem.

The temporary chairman then announced he would accept nominations for chairman. The source heard the names [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] put in nomination, but was unable to determine who was elected chairman.

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The elected chairman took over the meeting, restated the agenda, and then discussed the signing of petitions for CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT. The chairman stated that as the LIGHTFOOT hearing had been postponed, the deadline set for the signing of petitions for him could now be extended. He announced that a committee under the leadership of [redacted] was to be formed to spearhead the drive for additional signatures. The chairman then named the committee of seven. NY 1823-S\* was able to obtain the following names: [redacted]

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[redacted] PAULIE (PAUL ROBESON JR) [redacted]  
[redacted]  
It was agreed that this committee would meet 9/6/56, at the Freedom of the Press Office at 8:30 PM to discuss this drive for LIGHTFOOT.

The chairman then took up the agenda of the evening. He stated that at the meeting last week a great deal of time was spent discussing the question of the dissolution of the Party, and that tonight's meeting would go further into this question.

Memo

NY 100-26603C1214

The chairman stated that the concensus of opinion at the last meeting was that changes in the Party should be made, and that errors made in the past should be corrected.

The first speaker of the evening, identity unknown, stated that Comrade BERRY (ABNER BERRY) had said he personally favored the dissolution of the Party. The source was unable to furnish additional data regarding comments of this speaker.

NY 1823-S\* advised that the comments of the following two speakers were not available. However, he was able to furnish certain statements made by the fourth speaker. They are as follows: A complete assessment of the Party is needed on all fronts. What we need is an organization that is going to dedicate itself to certain principles of socialism. One principle that the broad mass of American people can accept is the ownership of the means of production. Apology for errors made by the Party in the past will appeal to certain sections of the people and certain sections within our own ranks. We must openly admit some of the mistakes we've made and the harm the mistakes have caused.

The following speaker talked about the vanguard party of the working class people, lack of educational program when new members brought into the Party, how to throw off white supremacy. By his remarks source believed speaker formerly associated with NAACP and "the League". The speaker felt that the Party had not tried all means possible to reach the mass of people in the Harlem area, and that, therefore, it was foolish to say the Party was wrong when all these means had not been tested. The speaker did not agree with the dissolution of the Party. His closing remarks were: "We can and we will make the Party the Vanguard Party of the working class."

Memo  
NY 100-26603C1214

According to the source, the next speaker was a woman. Her identity is not known. The source was unable to furnish any information regarding her speech.

The next speaker, identity unknown, also commented regarding the Vanguard Party. His speech was inaudible to source, but he was heard to mention the science of Marxism-Leninism, and the fact that at one time the Party considered socialism almost a dirty word.

The following speaker, identity unknown, swiftly enumerated mistakes made by the Party, and discussed the downgrading of STALIN. However, NY 1823-S\* was unable to report more fully on this speech.

The next speaker, identity unknown, made the following remarks: This is a period of discussing, thinking, searching and questioning on the part of Party leadership on the problem of isolation which now confronts the Party. The Party does not have a line at present. It has a broken line. In general the fight is against sectarianism. He made one comment that was inaudible and then followed it with the following statement: "That is true of report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on elections, the report of MAX WEISS on the 20th Congress, and is also true of my report." The speaker's comments continued. There should be more democracy in the Party, but it not be gained in an undemocratic way. It cannot be gained by fire. We are not getting rid of all sacred cows in our Party to set up a bunch of new sacred cows. The speaker then made an inaudible reference to a previous remark of [REDACTED].

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Memo

NY 100-26603C1214

The speaker then raised the question of TOGLIATTI. He stated that some comrades want to make TOGLIATTI a God, as the successor to STALIN. The speaker disagreed with this violently. He stated TOGLIATTI was faced with serious problems in Italy, and that we didn't want his problems here. He also commented that the American CP must be led by an American. Continuing, he stated TOGLIATTI was one of the closest men to STALIN, that we are not making TOGLIATTI a source from whom we accept everything, and that we are not making him a STALIN. In addition, he stated we are not rejecting everything from the Soviet Union in order to turn around and accept everything from TOGLIATTI.

The speaker next raised the question of the admission of errors. The speaker did not like the listing of all errors, stating that every party had committed errors, that they should not be listed like debits in a book, and that if that was done, he would list the achievements likewise. He stated that there's a "Helluva competition in our Party today over how many committed the most errors," and commented that that was not scientific thinking. He also stated "Do we thirst for admission of horror stories? I don't go for that."

The speaker stated "It's important that there should be in a capitalist country a political organization dedicated to the principles of scientific socialism."

The speaker then stated that some comrades had raised the question, the need for a Negro Party. He said "I'd love a Negro Party. I think eventually we're going to have a Negro Party." And later "Let's

Memo  
NY 100-26603C1214

"have a Negro Party. I'm for it, and I'm going to fight for it."

The speaker then spoke about the desire on the part of some comrades to change the Party, decrying those who wanted a "slick Madison Ave job done on the Party." He said "Where you going to hide? Think you can fool the FBI?"

The speaker then brought up the question of BROWDER. He stated that under BROWDER the Party advocated revolution by force and violence, and that it was only after BROWDER was out did the Party push the idea of a peaceful path to socialism. He stated that if BULGANIN and KHRUSHCHEV had not revealed the crimes of STALIN, this Party would not be today involved so deeply in a discussion as to why and how we made such errors and mistakes in the past.

The speaker also stated that he would like to see the Party move in the direction of the other political parties and have state selection of national committeemen.

In speaking of nationalization of the means of production, the speaker stated this was not enough for him. He wanted also equality of the Negro people, now within the tradition and framework of the American system and policy.

This speaker apparently was asked to define Marxism-Leninism. He stated "It is the science of the transformation of capitalism to socialism." He also added that within that science is "the science of how to strike blows, how to focalize masses, win masses of people." In conclusion, the speaker stated that the time will come when we will not only have to review Stalinism, but Leninism and Marxism as well, because in time everything changes.

Memo  
NY 100-26603C1214

It is noted that during his speech, the speaker stated that everything he had said was not directed to BERRY (ABNER BERRY) and [redacted] personally.

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At the conclusion of this speech one individual proposed that a conference of the entire membership of Harlem be held for the election of Harlem leaders. According to NY 1823-S\* all in attendance then took part in a general discussion regarding this proposal. It was finally determined that on the following Tuesday at Bermuda Hall the Regional Committee plus two members of the secretariat would hold a meeting and discuss 1) the enlargement of the secretariat; 2) the conference proposal; and 3) a program for Harlem. It is here noted that at the beginning of the meeting the temporary chairman stated that at the present time the secretariat was composed of only [redacted] and [redacted].

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According to the source, the meeting was closed at 11:45 PM.



File # 10-22-56

Best copy available

MR. JAMES D. WASHINGTON (100-2222-100) (7-1)

October 20, 1955

IN RE: JAMES D. WASHINGTON (7-1)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
21 - 0

Name

[Redacted]

Residence

(Address by [Redacted])  
100 [Redacted] [Redacted]  
[Redacted] [Redacted] [Redacted]

Date of activity

10/10/55

Date received

10/10/55

Received by

100 [Redacted] [Redacted]

Residence

[Redacted]

b7D

The information contained in this report should not be disseminated outside of the Bureau unless it is requested.

By report dated September 20, 1955, informant furnished detailed information concerning a meeting of the CP staff of the Department (New York) Office of the Executive Party held 9/10/55 at the apartment of E. [Redacted], 2272 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

Informant advised that the person mentioned in report of New York Office is [Redacted].

- 100-2222-100 (7-1)
- 100-2222-100 (E. P. Jones) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (E. [Redacted]) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (John [Redacted]) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (John [Redacted]) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (John [Redacted]) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (John [Redacted]) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (E. P. Jones) (20-10)
- 100-2222-100 (E. P. Jones) (20-10)

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100-2222-100 (20)

100-95583-338

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OCT 13 1955

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C O P Y

Document

Community Party USA  
Admission

September 10, 1970  
New York

A meeting of a committee party and of the  
party (Comm) members of the C.P. was held on September  
10th, 1970, at the apartment of address of 1717 Avenue  
C Street, N.Y.C.

The following members of the C.P. and were  
present at this meeting:

Tom Green, Gene (brother of Dr. Martin L. Luther King, Jr.),  
and (M) Murphy, Al and other members - International Workers  
Organization.

Members discussed the meeting.

The speaker said that they must have the  
meeting open to all in 1971 to allow to have our regular  
meetings and to have party work.

The first point on the agenda was - the  
meeting with the meeting and also other and every other week  
in the month-end meeting will have a date for next meeting  
for the party and the party leaders. The speaker said the  
only reason for the meeting of regular meetings of  
the committee was in the neighborhood.

After a short discussion in the meeting to the  
C.P. the speaker also presented to the the organization of the  
International Party for the national organization. This proposal was  
discussed. The speaker said he is in charge of the "general committee"  
of the party. The first point of the agenda - the first point of the  
agenda.

Members said the meeting that members of the  
"party leadership" during the coming months must also present  
and in a way that would be helpful on their proposals to the  
party's and state (of New York). List of the meeting  
was given out state during the meeting (September 10th). At the  
meeting to discuss the C.P. agenda (agenda) to discuss

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CROSS REFERENCES  
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C O P Y

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TELETYPE

OCT. 16, 1956

BUREAU  
 WASHINGTON FIELD, URGENT

ENCODE

[REDACTED] WAS, IS-R & PO. RENVLET OCT. FIFTEEN LAST. BUFILE  
 ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE NINE SEVEN SIX SIX SIX, NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH  
 S\* REPORTED TODAY THAT HE MET SUBJECT AT ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN'S OFFICE  
 AT FIVE PM ON AUG. FIFTEEN LAST. AS RESULT OF TELEPHONE CONTACT  
 EARLIER IN DAY WITH NEEDLEMAN'S OFFICE AND WITH NEEDLEMAN HIMSELF AT  
 THE BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL, NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S\* KNEW THAT [REDACTED]  
 AND NEEDLEMAN COULD NOT MEET AS PREVIOUSLY ARRANGED. INFORMANT,  
 HOWEVER, WAS UNABLE TO CONTACT [REDACTED] DURING THE DAY TO ADVISE LATTER  
 OF SITUATION. [REDACTED] WAS DISAPPOINTED NOT TO MEET NEEDLEMAN BUT  
 AGREED TO CONTACT LATTER AT FIRST OPPORTUNITY AND INDICATED THAT HE  
 PERSONALLY WOULD ARRANGE TO SEE NEEDLEMAN AT A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE DATE.  
 SPERDER SAID HE EXPECTS TO GO TO WASHINGTON "NEXT WEEK END;" THAT HE  
 EXPECTS TO RECEIVE A TELEPHONE CALL REQUESTING HIM TO GO THERE. HE  
 DID NOT INDICATE HOW HE WOULD TRAVEL. HE STATED HE HAS HAD SEVERAL

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- 1 - 100-87211 (CPUSA - Factionalism) (#19)
- 1 - 100-80638 (CPUSA - Membership) (#19)
- ① - 100-95588 (CPUSA - Line) (#19)
- 1 - 65-14966 (Polish Military Intelligence)
- 1 - 100-21785 [REDACTED] (#6)
- 1 - 100-78633 (Isidore Gibby Needleman) (#6)
- 1 - 100-86601 [REDACTED] (#18)
- 1 - 100-17923 (Gates) (#19)
- 1 - 105-13434 (Communist Export Group) (#6)
- 1 - 134-91 (#6)
- 1 - 105-6061 [REDACTED]

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REL: IM  
 (12)

100-95588-339

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FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Signature]*

PAGE TWO

MEETINGS WITH [REDACTED] THAT THE LATTER IS NOT CERTAIN WHEN HE WILL RETURN TO POLAND, THAT [REDACTED] HAD WRITTEN TO POLISH GOVT FOR INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE DATE OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM U.S. BUT AS OF OCT. FOURTEEN LAST HAD RECEIVED NO REPLY, THAT ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE REPLY MAY BE DELAYED BECAUSE OF POLISH CP PLENUM CURRENTLY IN SESSION. [REDACTED] STATED KATZ-SUCHY DESIRES TO MEET NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S AGAIN, THAT HE HAD GIVEN [REDACTED] ALL INFORMATION REGARDING THE INFORMANT'S BACKGROUND. [REDACTED] WILL ARRANGE THAT HE, [REDACTED] AND INFORMANT HAVE DINNER TOGETHER BEFORE [REDACTED] LEAVES AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEIR MEETING MAY BE ARRANGED FOR SOME NIGHT THIS WEEK. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] [REDACTED] WILL HAVE A SEPARATE MEETING WITH [REDACTED] WITH WHOM HE DESIRES TO DISCUSS THE SALE TO THE POLES OF CANADIAN TANKERS, WHEN IN THE U.S. PREVIOUSLY [REDACTED] HAD DISCUSSED WITH [REDACTED] ACTING ON [REDACTED]'S BEHALF, THE CANADIAN TANKER DEAL, [REDACTED] TOOK BACK TO POLAND PHOTOGRAPHS, SPECIFICATIONS, ETC. OF THE SAID TANKERS. (INFORMATION RE TANKER DEAL IS REPORTED IN CASE ENTITLED "COMMUNIST EXPORT GROUP-ISR" BUFILE ONE ZERO FIVE DASH THREE EIGHT FOUR SIX NINE). REFERRING TO POLISH PLENUM MENTIONED ABOVE SPERBER QUOTED [REDACTED] AS SAYING THAT AT THE SAID PLENUM, GOMULKA, FORMER GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE POLISH CP, WOULD BE INVITED TO RETURN TO LEADERSHIP, THAT THE PRO RUSSIAN FACTION IN THE POLISH CP HAD MADE OVERTURES TO GOMULKA BUT THAT HE DECIDED TO SUPPORT

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PAGE THREE

THE PRO POLISH FACTION. [ ] ALSO QUOTED [ ] AS STATING THAT POLAND WOULD WELCOME A LOAN FROM THE U.S., THAT SUCH A LOAN WOULD MAKE THE POLES MORE INDEPENDENT OF THE RUSSIANS. [ ] ALSO CHARACTERIZED AS A "DISTORTION" [ ] S RECENT DISPATCH IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" REFLECTING THAT AN ARTICLE IN THE POLISH PRESS BY "BRODSKY" (PH) APPROVED THE MARSHALL PLAN. AS REPORTED BY [ ] THE ARTICLE, ACCORDING TO [ ] WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MARSHALL PLAN WOULD NOT PLACE POLAND UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE U.S. ACCORDING TO [ ] [ ] MENTIONED HIS MEETING JOHN GATES, DAILY WORKER EDITOR AND CP FUNCTIONARY. GATES REPORTEDLY TOLD [ ] THAT HE IS FIGHTING TO ELIMINATE MARKISM-LENINISM IN THE CPUSA "BECAUSE TO RETAIN IT IS TO INVITE MORE GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION WHICH THE PARTY CAN'T STAND." GATES SAID THE PARTY IS "TAKING A TERRIFIC BEATING" AND THAT ITS MEMBERSHIP NOW IS ONLY EIGHTEEN THOUSAND. NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S\* CONTACTED ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN TODAY AT BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL AND LEARNED THAT THE LATTER'S TROUBLE MAY BE DUE TO LESIONS RESULTING FROM A PREVIOUS OPERATION. NEEDLEMAN ADVISED THE INFORMANT THAT HE WOULD SEE THE SUBJECT WHEN HE GOT OUT. [ ] ADVISED THE INFORMANT THAT THERE ARE TWO INTELLIGENCE GROUPS IN POLAND ONE OF WHICH IS POLISH MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OR "INFORMACJA" (PH), (POSSIBLY PERTAINS TO CHIEF DIRECTORATE OF INFORMATION IN THE POLISH MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE - GLONNY BARZAD INFORMACJI

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PAGE FOUR

OR MORE COMMONLY KNOWN AS GZL). [ ] RELATED THAT AT ONE TIME TWO POLISH GENERALS WERE EXECUTED AND THAT THIS HAPPENED BECAUSE "INFORMACIA" WAS THEN UNDER THE CONTROL OF RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE. [ ] SAID THIS SITUATION DOES NOT PREVAIL TODAY AND THAT THE POLES DO NOT EXECUTE THEIR FELLOW POLES. [ ] EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT IF THE PRESENT FRACTIONAL FIGHT IN POLAND IS NOT RESOLVED, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF A COUP D'ETAT ON THE PART OF ROKOSSOVSKY (HEAD OF POLISH ARMY). WFO WILL BE ADVISED IF SUBJECT TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON, DC AS INDICATED EARLIER. ABOVE FOR INFO.

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PAGE TWO

AFFIRMED BY IMPLICATION. LOUISE LAMBERT CONTINUED, QUOTE THEY LET US GET WAY IN DEEP, THEN COME OUT WITH THIS AND THERE'S NO WAY OUT OF THIS TRAP WE'RE IN, --I THINK WE OUGHT TO HAVE A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FROM THIS DAMN THING AT LEAST SAVE THE PARTY IN CALIFORNIA, --I REALIZE THAT THIS IS PRETTY STRONG, BUT THAT'S ABOUT HOW I FEEL OVER THIS. UNQUOTE



C O P Y

FBI RADIOGRAM

TO: New York and Washington

Date: 9/27/56

FROM: San Francisco

CP, USA - FACTIONALISM, ORGANIZATION, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, PARTY LINE, IS - C. CINAL, SF ONE FOUR TWO FIVE DASH S ASTERISK ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY FIVE ADVISED THAT CP FUNCTIONARIES AT CP HEADQUARTERS, SF, ARE COMPLETELY BEWILDERED AND DEMORALIZED WHEN SPECULATING ON INFORMATION CONTAINED ON PAGE ONE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF SEPTEMBER TWENTYFOURTH IN AN ARTICLE ENTITLED QUOTE CRITICISM OF TITO REVIVED IN SOVIET, UNQUOTE WHICH INFORMATION IS APPARENTLY ELABORATED UPON IN AIRMAIL EDITION OF DAILY WORKER, WHICH REACHED SF CPH AFTERNOON SEPTEMBER TWENTYFIVE. THIS CONCERNS LETTER SUPPOSEDLY SENT BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU, TO PARTY CELLS IN USSR, REASSESSING THE ROLE OF THE YUGOSLAV LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS AND STATING THAT YUGOSLAV CP IS NOT TRULY MARXIST LENINIST. SF ONE FOUR TWO FIVE - S ASTERISK ADVISED ON SEPTEMBER TWENTYFIVE THAT WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, CHAIRMAN CP DISTRICT THIRTEEN, AFTER LEARNING OF ABOVE, IMMEDIATELY SPECULATED THAT PRESENTLY SCHEDULED CONVENTIONS MAY HAVE TO BE POSTPONED. LOUISE LAMBERT, ORGANIZATION SECRETARY, CP DISTRICT THIRTEEN, EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT DRAFT RESOLUTION WILL HAVE TO BE REVISED, AS FOSTER'S POSITION HAS BEEN, IN EFFECT,

CC'S: 100-80641 (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION) (19)  
100-87211 (CPUSA-FACTIONALISM) (19)  
100-86624 (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (19)  
100-95583 (CPUSA-PARTY LINE) (19)

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L

100-95583

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SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 27 1956	

*[Handwritten signature]*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - United States Government

TO : Director, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, Detroit (100-2050)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: October 17, 1956

Care should be used in reporting the following information in order to protect the identity of the Informant.

Re Chicago letter to Director, dated July 3, 1956.

CSDE-606-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 28, 1956 that CARL WINTER, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA had in his possession material pertaining to the Communist Party. Contained in this material was a notebook bearing written notations which obviously pertained to meetings of the National Committee, CP, USA held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22-24, 1956 and the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the National Committee CP, USA on June 26, 1956 in New York City.

Referenced Chicago letter revealed that CG-5824-S\* had advised that on June 23, 1956 the National Committee, CP, USA discussed a draft statement concerning the report of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the Executive Session of the 20th Congress, CPSU. CG-5824-S\* advised that everyone present at this National Executive meeting was given a copy of a draft statement or report on the 20th Congress CPSU. This statement was prepared by MAX WEISS. Soon after the copies

- 2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 5 - Chicago (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470 MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
  - (1 - 100-19841 MAX WEISS)

*PMH*  
PMH/lmw  
(49)

*30 - New York*

*C*

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DE 100-2050

3 - Newark (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100-2974 [REDACTED])

30 - New York (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- CP, USA, LINE)
- (1 - 100-81752 CP, USA BRIEF)
- (1 - 100-80641 CP, USA ORGANIZATION) (#19)
- (1 - 100-86624 CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100-87211 CP, USA FACTIONALISM)
- (1 - 97-169 PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
- (1 - 100-56579 PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-9984 AL BLUMBERG)
- (1 - 100-50806 GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)
- (1 - 100-23825 BEN DAVIS, JR.)
- (1 - 100-8057 EUGENE DENNIS)
- (1 - 100-110840 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-89816 FRED FINE)
- (1 - 100-13472 GIL GREEN)
- (1 - 100-9365 WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
- (1 - 100-19723 JOHN GATES)
- (1 - 100-16785 JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.)
- (1 - 100-50983 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-64755 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-23290 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-28609 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-9573 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-18065 JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100-50090 SID STEIN)
- (1 - 100-66211 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-20649 ED STRONG)
- (1 - 100-23290 [REDACTED])
- (1 - 100-18672 MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-54899 LEON WOFSY)
- (1 - 100- [REDACTED])

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3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100-7800 ED STRONG)

3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)

- (1 - 100- CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100- CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- (1 - 100- WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)

DE 100-2050

- 3 - Detroit (100-2050)  
    (1 - 100-16980 CP, USA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)  
    (1 - 100-13420 CARL WINTER)

of this draft statement were distributed the meeting was adjourned for lunch so that those present would have a chance to read over the statement and be prepared to discuss amendments during the afternoon of June 23, 1956.

The text of this draft resolution was contained in referenced Chicago letter. Inasmuch as the information furnished by CSDE-606-S\* confirms and may in some instances add to the information furnished by CG-5824-S\*, the text of the notes concerning the meeting of June 23, 1956 are being set forth in this letter and copies of instant letter are being forwarded to all offices who previously received referenced Chicago letter.

The notes are written in outline form and abbreviations are used extensively. In most instances the text of the notes is quite clear, however, therefore the Detroit Office is substituting complete words for the abbreviations and where necessary a minimum of words to make the meaning clear.

Following is the text of the notes

Draft Statement on KHRUSHCHEV

Comments of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

We need to explain how ultra-bureaucracy developed:

- 1 - There was an historic lack of Democracy in Pre-revolutionary. - Soviet Union

2. There was a capitalist encirclement of industrially backward Soviet Union.
3. Ideological prestige of STALIN.
4. Personal weaknesses of STALIN.

Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

Would qualify negative observations by referring to historic setting.

b6  
b7C

Remarks of [redacted]  
[redacted]

The statement is inadequate in view of recent events. For example GENE DENNIS's article critical of the "Daily Worker" line. We should endorse the line of the "Daily Worker" as generally correct. We should note lessons of bureaucracy in our own party. We must reassert independence of CP, USA in criticism. We must indicate correctness to reprint KHRUSHCHEV's report.

Remarks of FRED FINE

The statement does not answer all the questions required. We can learn from the TOGLIATTI statement.

- Confidence in Soviet Union as well as criticism.
- Recognize credibility of facts in KHRUSHCHEV's report.
- Call for more adequate explanation by the Communist Party of the SU and ourselves.
- Cite objective results. - Peace, independence of CP's, variety of roads to Socialism, etc.

We should distinguish our position by adding criticism on the Jewish question, also for abolition of capital punishment.

Need to state the main line of the "Daily Worker" has been that of the National Committee.

- The New York Times and the Herald Tribune note that the Italian and French CP's criticism follow that of CP, USA. (On basis of the "Daily Worker" line.)

Remarks of AL  
BLUMBERG

The statement fails to base itself on the interest of the American people explicitly.

Should cite corrective steps already taken in Soviet Union - to substantiate that evils are not inherent in Socialism.

The statement exaggerates when it says "American people greet these changes."

The statement is subject to misunderstandings, "We are not neutral to the Soviet Union."

"Mistakes" is not an adequate characterization.

Statement should add a reference to execution of Jewish writers.

The formulations on relations between the Marxist parties is inadequate.

There is a need to overcome the dangerous situation contributed to by harmful "Daily Worker" references in disagreement with "prominent contributors."

DE 100-2050

Remarks of GENE  
DENNIS

The statement furnishes a basis for a draft to be edited.

The purpose of the statement is to speak for the National Committee to the whole country.

The statement needs to be short and popular.

Should indicate briefly the world significance of the Communist Party.  
- Soviet initiative for peaceful coexistence.

Should qualify reference to "brutalities and injustices" marking recent period.

Should insert question of peace as the reason that the State Department hates the Soviet Union.

Quote ABRAHAM LINCOLN on patriotism and internationalism.

Proletarian internationalism must be included in relation to reference to Marxist Parties.

Insert at end, "our policy arises from our being an independent American working class party as well as Marxist principles."

Cite earlier stand for peaceful road to Socialism.

Conclude with national interest in East-West friendship.

DE 100-2050

Remarks of LEON  
WOFYSY

Belabors question of State Department motives.

Emphasize roll of Soviet Union on world peace.

More on objective difficulties of first Socialist country.

Acknowledge that Communist leaders in all countries share ideological errors.

(ULBRECHT said CC German CP shared responsibility)

Add that STALIN had personal weaknesses - not only errors.

Should not add question of "Daily Worker" line.

(At this point the initials of CARL WINTER appeared in the notes indicating that CARL WINTER was the next speaker, however, there are no notes concerning his speech.)

Remarks of JACK  
STACHEL

Surprising degree of agreement present.

This was most important event since October revolution.

Should not demand immediate and simultaneous agreement.

We must face the fact that the question of the attitude of the National Committee to the "Daily Worker" line has arisen and we should indicate agreement.



GENE DENNIS's article went farther than this statement in explanations although it did not answer all questions.

KHRUSHCHEV should not appear to be criticized for criticism of STALIN.  
- What is wanted from KHRUSHCHEV is an analysis.

KHRUSHCHEV's report was inadequate - it lacked Marxist analysis. We should make our own analysis now.

The main line of the "Daily Worker" was correct on the KHRUSHCHEV report.  
- but some Comrades try to show independence regardless of concern for correctness.

GENE DENNIS's article was correct in main line also.  
Should be closer relationship between editor and the general secretary of the Party.

Question of civil liberties under Socialism as related to this discussion.

CPSU failed to check mistakes because of changes in its own camp, methods, etc.  
CP becomes merged with state.

We should re-examine some of LENIN's conclusions, i.e. freedom of the press.

Remarks of BEN  
DAVIS, JR.

The statement on KHRUSHCHEV cannot solve simultaneously the question of differences in Party leadership.  
Should confine statement to attitude to KHRUSHCHEV report.

DE 100-2050

The "Daily Worker" has been trying to develop new attitude and has been moving in correct direction

- there have been excesses in the "Daily Worker"

Not only KHRUSHCHEV, et al but other CP's hailed STALIN.

The CP, USA has a special responsibility to combat distortion on the Jewish question.

Remarks of JOHN GATES

The draft is a fine statement and should be edited and published.

Was drawn up by MAX WEISS three weeks ago, basically.

Following serious discussions and differences in the National Committee.

GENE DENNIS agreed to edit and issue statement.

Article in "Daily Worker" resulted - omitting criticism of KHRUSHCHEV and criticizing "Daily Worker."

The "Daily Worker" published an editorial disagreeing with GENE DENNIS.

The line of the "Daily Worker" and this statement are the same.

The general line of the "Daily Worker" on this question was based on critical attitude to the lands of Socialism.

- began with [redacted]'s article asking "Where was KHRUSHCHEV?"

differences in National Committee on this line did not come out until the GENE DENNIS article appeared.

b6  
b7c

[redacted]'s column this week said the "Daily Worker" made some errors, crudities, etc. (I admit editorial on a new party was wrong and will say so in the "Daily Worker.")

b6  
b7c

We should be proud that the "Daily Worker" was first in doing what Marxists are doing all over the world (TOGLIATTI - Sov. & Yug. agreement)

The State Department's publication of KHRUSHCHEV' report was unwittingly the greatest boon to international CP's, - emancipated them. They now stand up as men to the CP, SUA in the interest of Socialism. I thank the State Department for that.

I don't believe the Soviet Union has completed building Socialism. If they have, I am against it. Socialist state not yet fully democratic. That is why some say there is no Socialism in the Soviet Union.

Material foundations laid are basis for Socialism.

But lack of material foundations for Socialism in no way justified violations of Socialism.

Repressions we oppose were vs. non-Communists as well as Communists.

We had bureaucracy in our party at all times (not only under BROWDER) and it exists in CPSU now.

The basis is in our party's constitution where it provides that Politburo settle policy. This is true of all the CP's in the world.

Remarks of SIDNEY  
STEIN

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We must not appear to lag behind in  
commenting on KHRUSHCHEV's report.  
It is important to mention the  
"Daily Worker" so as to show this  
statement is not our first reaction.

The main purpose of the statement is  
to ask questions, not to present our  
analysis.

At the root of our acceptance of many  
policies was the relationship between  
CP's - not just ideology.

Our left sectarianism and isolation  
was influenced largely by our  
relations to the CPSU.

We need to state why we were responsible  
for silence or acceptance of Soviet  
errors.

We should add that the Soviet people  
were robbed of the fruits of Socialism  
by denial of democracy through excesses  
which were allowed to develop.

Instead of saying that the Soviet Union  
has resolutely changed things, we should  
say that they are starting.

On the Jewish question, let's ask  
questions instead of characterizations.

Our motivations should be shown as  
being in the interest of the American  
people, not attachment to the Soviet  
Union.

Remarks of WILLIAM  
SCHNEIDERMAN

I can't agree to include approval of the "Daily Worker" line in this statement.

I deeply resent being confronted with a discussion of differences before being fully informed.

It is impermissible that the National Committee permitted public debate of differences in leadership without placing our position collectively.

GENE DENNIS had no business writing in his own name in disagreement with other members of the National Committee in the "Daily Worker."

The "Daily Worker" was closer to being right on KHRUSHCHEV than GENE DENNIS.

But this is an example of bureacracy.

We should have adopted the National Committee position weeks ago, by a vote.

There is a widespread distrust of the party leadership today.

KHRUSHCHEV's report editorial was drowned in an uproar of indignation over the position urgently calling for a new party.

The Los Angeles County Board adopted a resolution demanding to know for whom the "Daily Worker" spoke on a new party.

I am not prepared to vote on the "Daily Worker" line until I hear the full background of differences.

Should strike out sentence in statement against neutrality to Soviet Union. It goes contrary to our declaration that the American people's interest are the basis of our position.

Remarks of CLAUDE  
LIGHTFOOT

The leadership should seek out ways of unifying position - not aggravate differences.

It was wrong for GENE DENNIS to publish an article attacking the "Daily Worker", and wrong for the "Daily Worker" to editorially differ with GENE DENNIS.

This reflects opinionated leadership.

Our statement should answer the main objections of the class enemy in discussion of the KHRUSHCHEV report.

- question of inherence of crimes in Socialism.
- independence of our party from world organization.

We should take the offensive in taking credit for correctly explaining the meaning of the role of the Soviet Union when it was being maligned and misrepresented.

We might better wait to adopt a position on the "Daily Worker" until fuller discussion.

DE 100-2050

b6  
b7C

Remarks of

We need more on American motivations for our stand on the Soviet Union in the past.

We should cite steps already taken of independent critical attitudes by our party.

Remarks of ED  
STRONG

We should settle what is the line of the "Daily Worker" before we adopt statement on it.

The essence of most editorials and articles in the "Daily Worker" is the singling out of the single phenomenon of the necessary independence and critical attitude of the CP's to the CPSU. This is only one feature of the whole situation.

The GENE DENNIS article tried to offset this onesidedness but omits our attitude to the KHRUSHCHEV report.

Wrong emphasis and one-sidedness can transpose the general line.

I do not agree with BEN DAVIS that we are dealing with irreconcilables.

b6  
b7C

Remarks of

We need to refer to the "Daily Worker" in a statement to avoid (illegible).

The line of the statement has been the line of the "Daily Worker."

b6  
b7C

Remarks of

We should reduce reference to the State Department publication of the KHRUSHCHEV report and concentrate on its impact for world peace.

GENE DENNIS' article violates principles of leadership since he does not reflect the National Committee's position. The article should have been presented as DENNIS' personal view. It would have been preferable to seek to present a collective view.

It is important to end certain speculation by referring in the statement to the correct stand of the "Daily Worker" on certain questions re the KHRUSHCHEV report.

Remark of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

The Illinois CP Board sharply criticized the "Daily Worker" editorial policy.

Remarks of MAX WEISS

A vote for the statement is also a vote for the "Daily Worker" line on the KHRUSHCHEV report.  
- especially on independent attitude  
to Socialist countries.

It is important to remind the American people that our party took the correct position before the French or Italian parties.

Objective conditions do not justify the errors that were made.

Wrong policies that were adopted, lead to them.



DE 100-2050

Our attitude to the CPSU was based on more than ideological influences.

- the concept of relationship is not of equality.
- belief that logic of criticism leads to struggle and opposition.

Editorial Committee  
on statement

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, MAX WEISS, CARL  
WINTER, JOHN GATES.

Photographic copies of the above notes  
are being maintained in Detroit File 100-13420-1B-11.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: October 18, 1956

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-2050)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Detroit Letter to Director, dated September 18, 1956,  
and Chicago Letter to Director, dated July 2, 1956, captioned  
as above.

Extreme care must be used in handling and reporting  
the following information in order to fully protect the iden-  
tity of the Informant.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)

6 - Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)

- (1 - )134-46)
- (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1 - 100-18956) (CP-USA, Negro Question)
- (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-18953) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION)

b6  
b7c

3 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)

- (1 - 100- ) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION)
- (1 - 100- ) (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION)
- (1 - 100-2974) [REDACTED]

27 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)

- (1 - 100-80641) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION) (#19)
- (1 - 100-89691) (CP, USA DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (#19)
- (1 - 100-80640) (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION) (#19)
- (1 - 100-89590) (CP, USA STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

(Copies continued on page 1A)

PMH:JLK  
(47)

100-95583-342

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*[Handwritten initials and signature]*

*New York (see Classification)*

DE 100-2050

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- (1- 100- ) (CP, USA LINE)
- (1- 100- ) (~~COMINFIL, NAACP~~)
- (1- 100-81752) (CP, USA, BRIEF)
- (1- 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
- (1- 100-34032) (LOU BURNHAM)
- (1- 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
- (1- 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
- (1- 100-10840) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-89816) (FRED FINE)
- (1- 100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
- (1- 100-19723) (JOHN GATES)
- (1- 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON JR.)
- (1- 100-18677) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-50983) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-28609) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-9573) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-50090) (SID STEIN)
- (1- 100-66211) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-20649) (ED STRONG)
- (1- 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1- 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
- (1- 100-54899) (LEON WOFSY)

b6  
b7c

- 3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED MAIL)
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  - (1 - 100- ) (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION)
  - (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)

- 3 - San Francisco (REGISTERED MAIL)
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  - (1 - 100- ) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)

- 5 - Detroit
  - (1 - 100-2817) (CP, USA NEGRO QUESTION)
  - (1 - 100-17161) (CP, USA STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
  - (1 - 100-6075) (COMINFIL, UAW-CIO)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)

*New York*

DE 100-2050

CSDE 606-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 28, 1956 that CARL WINTER, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, had in his possession material pertaining to the CP. Contained in this material was a notebook bearing handwritten notes which obviously pertain to meetings of the National Committee of the CP, USA held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22, through June 24, 1956, and the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the National Committee, CP, USA on June 26, 1956 in New York City.

CG 5824-S\* has previously reported on the above-mentioned meetings. Inasmuch as the information furnished by CSDE 606-S\* confirms and may in some instances add to the information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, the Detroit Office is furnishing the text of the notes pertaining to the meeting on June 22, 1956 to all offices previously receiving the information furnished by CG 5824-S\*.

The notes are written in outline form and abbreviations are used extensively. In most instances the text of the notes is quite clear. However, the Detroit Office is substituting complete words for the abbreviations and where necessary a minimum of words to make the meaning clear.

The following is the text of the notes:

Main Report on the Negro Question  
by BEN DAVIS, JR.

We are now at the highest point in the struggle vs. Negro oppression in the U.S.

The Negro struggle has become a subject of discussion by all Americans and an international question.

DE 100-2050

Significant gains have been made in Negro rights since 1950.

They took place during the period of the cold war - under the influence of new world liberation developments.

There is a national liberation front among Negro people. National peoples' coalition vs. segregation etc. includes trade unions and other organization's interested in democracy.

There are terrorist efforts to defeat struggle for Negro rights.

The struggle for Negro rights in the South carries the banner of democracy and progress for U.S. as a whole.

The center of the struggle for Negro rights is shifting to the South.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott has been in the vanguard of the struggle since December, 1955 and there has been a merger of youth, church, and trade union leadership.

Similar movements are spreading to other centers.

Leadership formerly looked for from the North and Trade Unions has shifted to Negro peoples' leaders in the South.

Struggle has been marked by peaceful resistance tactics. There is a growing white support of Negro rights demands in the South.

The White Citizens Councils are new terrorist organizations who stifle Negro demands for their rights and also attack trade unions in the South.

DE 100-2050

The NAACP is the chief organization center of Negro struggles in the South.

The unifying issue among diverse forms of struggle of the Negro in the South is the demand for the right to vote.

One half of the Negroes in the South have migrated to urban centers and the Negro Question is no longer chiefly a peasant question.

The Negro people consider their struggle for integration a part of the world colonial demand for independence and dignity of peoples.

The CP should develop a program directed to winning leadership among Negro workers within the frameworks of the Negro peoples' movements.

The CP must find forms of Marxist organization in the South.

Concessions won by the Negro struggle have enhanced the prestige of petty bourgeoisie and social democratic leaders of the Negro peoples' movements.

The "State of the Race" movements coordinates various trends and groups.

There is a need to fuse struggles for integration in education, housing, etc. in the North with the struggle in the South - especially with trade union participation.

It requires a special Communist attack.

DE 100-2050

Certain Northern bourgeois interests coincide with integration for economic reasons.

Gains made by government decrees vs. segregation will breed illusions on the role of bourgeois democracy.

CP, USA was the first to arouse the U.S. and the world to Negro rights.

(Main error historically was left-sectarianism, although right opportunism and passivity continued).

Examples of left-sectarianism:

Left centers of Negro work in Trade Unions  
attitude to RANDOLPH, WEAVER, WATKINS, etc.  
Attitude to TRUMAN's Report on civil rights.  
"Self Determinism"- although still nationality question.

Methods of combating White Chauvinism  
(although still needs to be eradicated).

Guard vs. counterposing individual leadership  
of struggle for Negro rights to Party leadership -  
or "vanguard line" to line of the Party.

Principal emphasis in struggle vs. White Chauvinism  
should be in the mass struggle for Negro rights.  
(must be divested of attitude that White  
(Chauvinists are oppressors of the Negro.  
(Should be combated by political and ideological  
(means rather than organization)

The Negro cadre situation reflects decline in Party  
struggle vs. White Chauvinism.

(turnover; especially lack of Negro women)  
Status of Negro in the U.S. makes Negro a  
special question.

DE 100-2050

Right opportunism among Negro cadres is reflected in minimizing the role of the CP in favor of individual relations with Negro leaders. Also idealizing reactionary Negro leaders and under-rating the role of the Northern proletarians.

(One line illegible).



DE 100-2050

It is the inadequate struggle vs. White Chauvinism  
which feeds Negro bourgeoisie nationalism.

Remarks of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The two worst left sectarian deviations on the Negro  
Question were the Haywood deviation and the struggle  
vs. White Chauvinism in exaggerated ways.

The Sectarian error on "self-determinism."

- 1) Took Stalin's definition of nation too rigidly.
- 2) Were too rigid on process of development of nation  
for example Ireland, Wales, etc. are not nations.  
These, like Negroes, were stunted in their  
development as nations.

Remarks of

b6  
b7c

Doesn't agree with BEN DAVIS, JR. (or GENE DENNIS' report)  
when he says the passivity in the struggle for Negro  
rights was mainly of right opportunism character.

We should give credit to many good struggles for  
Negro rights we are engaged in.

We should take into account that our members cannot  
take the leading part as soon as they join Negro  
organizations.

Doesn't understand reference by BEN DAVIS, JR. to  
criticism of "vanguard individuals" substituting for  
Party.

"Doesn't agree White Chauvinism is the main danger in the  
CP" because many of the excesses were under cover of  
this slogan.

DE 100-2050

Workers in the North are not White Chauvinists and they are not responsible for housing discrimination, etc.  
White workers come into the Party at New York with less white chauvinism than the Negroes have bourgeoisie nationalism.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

Greets the report especially on the Party and treatment of White Chauvinism and bourgeoisie matters. "Self determinism" has been shelved; but needs a scientific analysis of motivation. The Negro Question remains national in character and socialism is not the immediate answer to Negro aspirations.

The Negro and labor alliance is endangered by inadequate mobility of white trade unionists on Negro rights in own self-interest. (Example - UAW Local elections and Congressional District primary).

Remarks of

b6  
b7C

Doesn't agree with GENE DENNIS' formulations in his report that passivity in the struggle for Negro rights is right opportunism and that White Chauvinism is the main danger in the CP.

The main struggle in the Party must be against left Sectarianism, not White Chauvinism, even though there is weakness in our work among white masses on the struggle for Negro rights.

DE 100-2050

We are weak in all mass work not only on the struggle for Negro rights.

The Claim that passivity is due to right opportunism is a distortion and weakens the mobility of the Party for the struggle on Negro rights.

When we were waging our most vigorous struggle vs. White Chauvinism we were most isolated, flowing from left Sectarianism. (1949-1951).

Left Sectarianism led to the removal of 200 Negro cadres from the trade unions.

Putting White Chauvinism as the main danger makes members feel incapable of waging a struggle vs. Negro rights.

The Main danger is left Sectarianism.

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

Agrees with the board report.  
The slogan of "self determinism" needs more study.  
Discarding the slogan does not mean abandoning fundamental principle of right to self determinism.  
Tactically the slogan is not useful now.

If Socialist countries find the need to struggle vs. alien ideology, we need to combat bourgeoisie ideology in our ranks.

White Chauvinism penetrates our Party and is its greatest danger because it is ideology of the ruling class and needs educated struggle rather than previous administrative measures.

How can we explain Trumbull Park if workers are not infected by White Chauvinism?

DE 100-2050

Remarks of WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

There is a need to clarify what should be the role of the CP in the Negro struggle today. Especially since we have better connections with Negro mass movements than with others at the time of high level of struggles, yet the Party is isolated.

What unique role can the CP play when the NAACP, churches, etc. are actively in the struggle for Negro rights. Propaganda for socialism is part of the answer - in relation to fulfilling the liberation aims of the Negro people.

Example: San Francisco's experience with the Till mass meeting when the NAACP refused to organize. (The Left took initiative with good results).

Left Sectarianism is the main danger but we must combat White Chauvinism in the Party wherever it manifests itself.

In some instances it may be the main danger.

Remarks of

b6  
b7c

The report should include a review of Party work in the Negro field. It would show improvement from 1949 to 1951. We have considerable forces in the mainstream today. Left Sectarianism practices are followed in the way we work in mass movements and trade unionists on the Negro Question. But we often exaggerate our isolation because we cannot publicize influence we exert. It is wrong to say the main danger in the CP is White Chauvinism.

DE 100-2050

This shows the Party on the same level as other mass organizations. But our Party stands above the level of other organizations. There is a need to struggle vs. White Chauvinism in the Party but it is wrong to attribute to this our inadequate struggle on Negro rights or lack of promotion of Negro cadres. Other factors should be taken into account.

Remarks of

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

We tended in the past to struggle vs. White Chauvinism and were divorced from mass struggles and by administrative measures.  
There is a need to develop mass struggles and ideology campaigns for Negro rights.  
(Some fear that ideology campaigning means excesses and head chopping.)

The Negro-Labor Alliance developed in FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT's period.  
Later it proceeded without Left forces who initiated earlier alliances.  
It led to an attempt to promote Left leadership, then Left centers.  
Trade Unions are paying the greatest attention to Negro Rights in the South.  
But serious set backs are forming a pattern.  
The New York Negro Trade Unionists conference had to disband.  
Ohio Negro conference of Trade Unionists got no attendance.  
Negro candidates in UAW Locals were defeated.  
There was a controversy in Local 600 over HUBBARD's segregation.

DE 100-2050

Remarks of MAX WEISS

The main feature of the situation is the high level of tumultuous Negro struggles in the South and the development of Negro labor alliances.

We should say "self-determinism" is incorrect and always was. Decision for integration is not an exercise of self determinism.

Negro struggles for equal rights are analogous to a national movement.

We are not called upon to distinguish White Chauvinism or bourgeoisie nationalism as the main danger.

The main danger where our members are already in mass organizations, trade unions, etc., was (1½ years ago) passivity, due to an over estimation of the White Chauvinism of the masses.

Remarks of  b6  
b7c

The term "White Chauvinism" is inaccurate.

We use it to mean insensitivity, etc.

There is a need for education on the Negro Question as a special question linked with national democratic tasks and socialism.

We should deal with specific cases rather than generalizing "main danger."

Remarks of LOU BURNHAM

BEN DAVIS' report correctly placed left sectarianism as the main feature of our work in Negro struggles.

The objective of overcoming left sectarianism is to be more effective in overcoming White Chauvinism. The main obstacle to unity and success of Negro liberation movement.

(Doesn't agree with the Carver report of July, 1955 in the New York Party Voice).

DE 100-2050

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

Agrees in substance with the report, but must elaborate sections on Negro Labor alliance and struggle for Negro Rights as pivotal point in 1956 elections.

Despite the unevenness of development the Negro Labor alliance is moving forward.

Setbacks in the UAW elections were effected by:

- 1 - Unemployment
- 2 - Sectarianism practices and Negro caucuses
- 3 - White Citizens Council influence.

Cannot agree with characterizing White Chauvinism as a main danger in the Party but it is necessary to wage more persistent struggle to engage in mass movement for Negro rights.

Our approach to the Negro Question over the years was dogmatic and doctrinaire. It remains an argument and national question in the South.

Democratic rights and full representation for the Negro people becomes more important at this time.

Remarks of

b6  
b7c

The question of White Chauvinism is not handled properly in the Party. "Excesses" require an explanation of their origin.

The source was generally left-sectarian attitudes..

During the Korean War we regarded White Chauvinism as inevitable with widespread results.

We placed unreal demands on standards for Party membership.

The Negro members had initiative in the struggle vs. White Chauvinism in 1949.

DE 100-2050

We mechanically and statistically placed nationalism question as subordinate to the White Chauvinism question. But today the nationalism question is uppermost.

The WILLIAM Z. FOSTER article on Left Sectarianism in the struggle vs. White Chauvinism was outdated by the time of its publication in 1953.  
White Chauvinism will not be disposed of merely by mass struggle for jobs, housing, etc.  
Ideological struggle must be made in a mass way.

Remarks of

b6  
b7c

Agrees with BEN DAVIS' report.

Remarks of JOHN GATES

It is a good report as far as it goes.  
But needs to be further developed to deal with the struggle of the nation as a whole. Especially white masses, not only the Negro struggle.

"Self-determinism" was never correct. It was developed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1928. It is abstract and dogmatic. We should not cling to the concept of a Negro nation. The Negroes in the Black Belt never were and are not now a nation. They had embryonic features of a nation but never matured to birth.

A nation - unlike a class - must have consciousness. The Negro people are a part of the American nation. They are a national minority and suffer double oppression.



DE 100-2050

I don't agree with the formula that passivity on the struggle for Negro rights is right opportunism. We need factual analysis first.

Agrees with GENE DENNIS and cannot say that the main danger in the Party is White Chauvinism. The section of the report on the Party needs development and stress on Negro-white unity.

Concluding Remarks of BEN DAVIS

The main point of the report was to stress the shift of the center of the struggle for Negro rights to the South.

I disagree with [redacted] His remarks reflect complacency on White Chauvinism and denies a need for ideological and political struggle on this question, and tends to make the Negro nation a main danger.

b6  
b7c

Motion: To add the urgent need to heighten struggle among white masses for Negro rights.

(Approved for editing  
and issue for  
discussion)

Original source DE 100-13420-1B-11.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-62906)

10/15/56

SA [redacted]

SM-C

Informant reliability

[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Date of activity

9/28/56

Date furnished

9/28/56

Furnished to

SA [redacted]

Location

[redacted] (attachment)

The informant furnished an oral report on 9/28/56, which report was reduced to writing, read, and signed by the informant on 10/5/56.

"On 9/28/56 I visited the cigar store of [redacted] who told ME his wife has returned from Italy, and now he could make plans to go on vacation. [redacted] stated he still wants to go to Cuba, but the idea of a plane trip frightens him, so he will probably go to Florida by train and then take a ship from there to Cuba. [redacted] stated he would very much like to go to Puerto Rico instead of Cuba but has ruled that out because of the plane trip required.

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"While I was talking with [redacted] [redacted] arrived at the store. [redacted] visits the store on a daily basis. [redacted] had some clippings from Puerto Rican newspapers regarding the CP trials. [redacted] stated that the trials have been postponed but that he may go to Puerto Rico for a visit anyway. [redacted] did not say that he would leave for Puerto Rico.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] also stated that he does not believe the CP trials in Puerto Rico will ever take place because there is so much judicial controversy about the political status of Puerto Rico, and whether or not federal or commonwealth laws apply.

- 1-New York [redacted] (P&C) (7-3)
- 1-New York (100-95687) [redacted] (7-5)
- 1-New York (100-4931) (CP,USA) (19)
- ①-New York (100-95583) (CP LINE) (19)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C-42) (12)

100-95583-343

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
 SERIALIZED *done* FILED *done*  
 OCT 15 1956  
 FBI - NEW YORK  
 [redacted] *DW*

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b7D

WJL:atz  
(6)

MEMO  
NY 100-62906

Then Gov. Governor MUNOZ MARIN does not want the trials as there is an election coming and the trials would be harmful to his position. According to [redacted] if the trials take place, the opponents of MUNOZ MARIN will take advantage of them by saying there is no commonwealth or free-state and Puerto Rico is only a colony.

[redacted] also discussed the new proposal submitted by an undisclosed number of CP members, and explained that the CP State Convention will be held in secret to discuss this proposal, and then have the proposal brought before the CP National Convention to be held in February, 1957.

"According to [redacted] those who are for the proposal want to do away with Leninism and adhere to straight Marxist principles. By doing away with Leninism, they believe they will do away with all future acts of anti-semitism similar to those which took place in Russia. They claim Leninism is old fashioned and wouldn't work, and that the working man is for the proposal. Without Leninism, they believe the CP would have more in common with other socialist groups and could join forces with them. Those opposed to the proposal claim that without Leninism there is no workers party, only socialism. This group will vote against the proposal with reservations because they claim the main weakness of other parties is that they do not believe in Leninism.

[redacted] stated that unless these opposing groups compromise the CP will split worse than when BROWDER left the party."

LEADING LINES

OCT 18 3 20 PM '57

LEADING LINES

OCT 18 10 07 AM '57

LEADING LINES

OCT 18 8 05 AM '57



CONFIDENTIAL

October 6, 1953

I arrived at Jefferson School at Boston College, 770 North Avenue, N.W.D. at 7:30 pm 10/6/53 and proceeded to the room where I was assigned for the evening. I would prefer to remain in my apartment. I arrived at the school at 7:30 pm. I entered the hall at one about 7:45 pm. I observed the assembly and was surprised to see that my estimation was confirmed by a floor motion to the effect that 'approximately 1000' persons in attendance and present.

In a male voice someone stated approximately that this meeting did not start until 8:15 pm. This gave me a chance to take a walk. The audience was then about 100, consisting of men, women and children. It was stated that women were to describe them as 'old boys' to avoid to avoid to associate with him. The man was mostly of advanced years looked good in appearance which is saying a lot considering the age. He had a friendly smile. The music was for dancing. Later the hall filled and there was a gathering over 100 persons. The latter arrivals were people of about 30 to 45 both sexes mostly men. There were no very young people and only a few young women. I saw only 4 colored people - men.

The principal of the school then said I could not enter or leave, but when I was contacted by a female teacher who was an ex-come relation and maintained, opened the proceedings, and explained the procedure which would be followed - 20 minutes to each speaker & period for questions by the audience and a 5 minute session for each speaker at the end.

He introduced the speakers of the evening - Mr. William H. Murray Director of Public and General Education of the National Council, Joseph S. ... and ... and ... a ... of the ... Party and ... of the ...

CONFIDENTIAL

Att # 1 to 100 - 95583-344 <sup>dem</sup>



C O P Y

The following is a partial transcription with the original text of a document - 210 words - but some of the words are illegible. It appears to be a letter or a memo. The text is very faint and difficult to read. It seems to contain several paragraphs of text, possibly discussing a project or a report. The words are mostly obscured by noise and low contrast.

It appears to be a second paragraph or a separate section of text. Like the first, it is extremely faint and mostly illegible. It seems to contain several lines of text, possibly a list or a continuation of the previous paragraph. The characters are barely visible against the background.

The final paragraph is also very faint and illegible. It appears to be a concluding sentence or a signature line. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.

C O P Y

Best copy  
available

A. O. J.

I am sorry that I was not really able to get  
any more out of the 'discussion' at the last fall.  
It was not the best. I am sure that the audience could not  
do much but still, I believe they attended for the financial  
reasons that it would give. Anyway, he passed I did my  
best but still that is not the best thing.

5 minutes more was allotted to each speaker  
to review the proceedings and to qualify his remarks.

In doing this I had been studying some pamphlets  
and decided to find that the party had organized the  
movement and sale of the Daily Worker while preparing his  
speeches. Besides his previous remarks to the C. I.  
he thought that the party would be the factor in the  
domination and guidance of the left wing movement.

Discussion started in the point of what relationship  
the party in competitive relationship with the original  
committee of independent socialists means. It was not  
impossible in the slightest way from his standpoint. His  
view was expressed with some of a positive effect and  
the presence of the ex party members and organizations the  
existence of the past 10 years would be drawn up.

Edwin was given some time also in the point  
of what can be said not only the competitive relationship  
existence of all, at all. He argued away at the  
impression that the party was a letter case from before it  
was not going to throw the party into an issue. It  
did not seem out and say that the party the C. I. was  
going to concern to bring about their goals.

I am sorry that I was not really able to get  
any more out of the 'discussion' at the last fall.  
It was not the best. I am sure that the audience could not  
do much but still, I believe they attended for the financial  
reasons that it would give. Anyway, he passed I did my  
best but still that is not the best thing.

A. O. J.





SAC, NEW YORK (100-25603-345)

10/23/56

IA JOSEPH E. O'LEARY

CP, USA, BIRCHMOUNT 2, KINGS COUNTY  
IS-C

Source	NY 1657-S*
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Date of Activity	10/1/56
Date Furnished	10/1/56
Agent Receiving Info.	SA [redacted]
Location	100-25603-Sub 31

b6  
b7C

9/24/56: NY 1657-S\* furnished the following information on

[redacted] during the course of a meeting held on 9/24/56 at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP County meeting place, characterized by [redacted] as a Section Organizers meeting, announced that the next section organizers meeting would be held on 10/1/56.

b6  
b7C

NY-1657-S\* furnished the following information on 10/1/56: A meeting was held on 10/1/56, at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a CP County meeting place.

[redacted] spoke on the draft resolution and stated that the CP will have to chart its future as if it were just learning and taking note of past histories, including not only the achievements of the Party but also its errors.

b6  
b7C

- 1 - NY 100-114513 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-85226 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-18572 (JAN NELSON) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-129156 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-92547 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-52959 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-67170 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-89691 (CP, DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#19)
- 1 - Supervisor J. P. HIGGINS, #20-11

b6  
b7C

OTD:MMH  
11

100-95583-345

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 23 1956	
[redacted]	

JTW

NY 100-26603-543

[redacted] indicated that people who disagree with Marxism and Leninism on a basis upon which the Party can be built will not agree with the resolution and MAX (USIA) discussion and stand on the draft resolution.

[redacted] stated that the explanation for bureaucracy in the Party is inadequate.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] spoke on the draft resolution and stated that there is a lot to learn in the party and that consideration must be given to the ideas of other comrades no matter how fantastic their arguments may seem to be.

[redacted] stated that the resolution could have been an excellent resolution if it had come out four or five months ago and before the discussion opened up in the Party on a number of issues.

[redacted] stated that in certain parts the resolution reflects a compromise in the entire party and not only on the part of the leadership of the party. [redacted] stated that it was agreed that the party was in a critical position, as it is, that the resolution coming from the leadership should open much wider doors of discussion because it is a peculiar type of resolution.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that he was not sure of the position of the party on social democracy.

[redacted] stated that the resolution was in fact a continuation and a correction of the DIMMS report. [redacted] stated that the resolution leaves one how and what issues on which they could begin to find unity with non-Marxists and basically what was valid in Marxism and in Leninism for them to accept.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that had the national committee developed the discussion before the resolution came out it could have gone much further. [redacted] stated that in preliminary discussions in the section committee the general impression was one of approval of the resolution as it stood, but disappointment that it did not deal with some very basic issues.

b6  
b7C

NY 100-25003-043

[redacted] noted that the vote that they could not solve out Lenin and Leninism in the Party and that a Marxist Party is necessary for talking about Socialism.

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[redacted] and [redacted] engaged in a conversation concerning the order of speakers.

An unidentified individual spoke and expressed his opinion concerning the need for developing a whole nation of new type Leninism on the question of socialism. He stated that he has not complained that there was a need for the Party as it is known to day. He stated that there may be a need for a fight for a Marxist-Leninist organization, however.

This unidentified individual stated that the CP in NY is not an organization/CP in need for a struggle in the trade union field. He stated that what is needed is a political organization that could be thought about at the convention in February of next year.

An unidentified male spoke and stated that there is a healthy party and that between now and the convention the comrades should participate in discussion to help to determine which course the Party should take. He stated that he felt the Marxist-Leninist ideology does not create the possibility of having a Democratic organization. He stated that the main issues raised in his opinion are the questions of bureaucracy and methods of work.

[redacted] proposed that MAX (WISS) should start off the next meeting.

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An unidentified male spoke and stated that he considered the resolution as an advancement over the 1952 program. He stated that in his opinion the criticism of MAX (WISS) talk last week was not justified. He stated that he did not see where Social Democracy could bring socialism to this country without a Marxist-Leninist type organization.

[redacted] announced that the meeting would adjourn until the following day evening, 10/3/54.

The following phonetic name cards were mentioned at this meeting held on 10/3/54: [redacted]

b6  
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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43) DATE: 10/23/56

FROM : SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY

SUBJECT: CP, USA DISTRICT #2, KINGS COUNTY  
IS-C

Identity of Informant	NY 1657-S*
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Date Furnished	10/8/56
Date of Activity	10/8/56
Agent Receiving Information	SA JOSEPH T. O'LEARY
Location	100-26603-sub 31

on 10/8/56: NY 1657-S\* furnished the following information

- 1 - NY 100-92547 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-66028 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-114513 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-52959 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-8340 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-89691 (CP DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP LINE) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-100326 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-85206 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-24448 LILLIAN GATES) (#19)
- 1 - NY 100-106300 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-43258 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-12959 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - NY 100-40394 [redacted] (#20-11)
- 1 - Supervisor #20-11 J.F. HIGGINS

b6  
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JTO:RCM  
16

100-95583-346

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 9 4 1956	
FBI NEW YORK	

#19

Memo  
NY 100-26603-043

A meeting was held on 10/8/56, at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, a county meeting place. [redacted] who was present at the meeting, characterized the meeting as a meeting of section organizers.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] opened the meeting with an appeal for the assembled cadre to get the people in their areas to register to vote during registration week.

[redacted] mentioned that facilities would be made available in the way of office space and telephones for any volunteers for that purpose.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] asked for a point of order.

[redacted] announced that the proposal concerning the county committee which was made on the previous week would be taken up at a subsequent meeting.

[redacted] spoke and made reference to an article which appeared in the "Daily Worker" concerning the draft resolution prepared by the National Committee of the CP, USA. [redacted] stated that he supported the draft resolution as it stands even though it is not complete or perfect in all respects. [redacted] pointed out that he did not feel that the resolution was adequate with regard to the Negro question or the capitalism question. [redacted] stated, however, that it could be perfected if the membership stood behind the National Committee.

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[redacted] stated that he did not consider the resolution to be a compromise document but rather he thought that it was the best in collective thinking on the part of the National Committee.

Memo

NY 100-26603-C43

[ ] stated that he was opposed to a dissolution of the Party because he felt that there was a definite need for the CP and that no other kind of a party with the exception of a Marxist-Leninist Party could lead the working classes to achieve Socialism as the CP could - which is the vanguard role of the CP.

b6  
b7C

[ ] stated that he favored a Maison with other Socialist forces, but was opposed to transforming the CP into a Socialist educational organ.

[ ] admitted that in the past the CP in the United States was dogmatic and did not allow for interpretation or application to the problems and conditions of the working classes under the capitalistic system in the United States. [ ] pointed out, however, that the resolution provides for a correction of this error inasmuch as it makes provision for allowing interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrines.

b6  
b7C

[ ] stated that in regards to the clamour for democratizing the Party the resolution contains several provisions which permits bringing about some changes that many comrades feel are necessary in the Party.

[ ] stated, "I am County Organizer in Brooklyn, which is the most democratic county in the entire country."

b6  
b7C

[ ] pointed out, however, that in spite of this there were examples of white chauvinism in the Party in Brooklyn.

An unidentified guest male speaker then expressed his dissatisfaction with the draft resolution and with the leadership of the Party in recent years.

Memo  
NY 100-26603-C43

[ ] spoke next and stated that as a whole he would vote against the draft resolution. [ ] cited the vast difference between what the CP membership thought on various issues and what the National Committee of the CP reflected as the thinking of the CP membership.

b6  
b7C

[ ] made mention of the crisis that exists in the CP and stated that she had discussed the matter with MAX WEISS.

[ ] stated that she had lost a great deal of confidence in the ability of the National Leadership to bring about any changes at all in the Party and pointed out that the reappraisals which have been made in the Party were brought about by forces from outside the Party and that the Party leadership were forced into making those reappraisals.

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b7C

[ ] stated that she was in favor of a transformation of the Party rather than a dissolution of the Party and was also in favor of the elimination of the vanguard role of the Party at least temporarily.

[ ] proposed that another meeting be held on the subject of the draft resolution.

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b7C

[ ] stated that he was in favor of several meetings on the subject.

LILLIAN (GATES) stated that her views were different than [ ]'s and [ ]'s and wanted more than a few minutes to state her views.

[ ] stated that the next Section Organizers meeting would be held on the following Monday night, 10/15/56.

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b7C



Memo  
NY 100-26603-C43

[redacted] asked [redacted] to tell her husband about the meeting.

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[redacted] stated that she would do so.

[redacted] called out the name of [redacted] who answered.

[redacted] called out the name of [redacted] who answered.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] called out the name of [redacted] who answered.

In addition the following phonetic first names were mentioned at the instant meeting:

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b7C

[redacted]

A photographic surveillance was maintained at 1212 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, NY, on 10/8/56, and photos of those in attendance were obtained. Efforts are being undertaken to effect identification of these individuals. Photos of individuals identified will be disseminated to the respective main case files and photos of unidentified individuals will be maintained in 100-26603-1A6509, pending identification.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

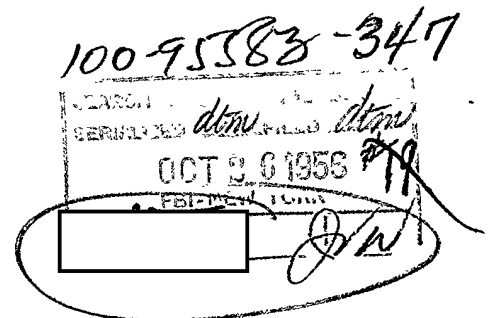
TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603 C1214) ) DATE: 10/26/56  
 FROM: SA JAMES E. HASTINGS (12-16)  
 SUBJECT: CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, HARLEM REGION  
 IS-C

Source NY 1823-S\*  
 Reliability Who is in a position to furnish reliable information.  
 Concealment Cover by T symbol  
 Date of Activity 10/6/56  
 Date Received 10/6/56  
 Location Instant memo.

On 9/25/56, NY 1823-S\* advised that the Harlem Region CP would hold a regional conference at Bermuda Hall, 402 West 146th Street, NYC, on Saturday, 10/6/56, from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m.

- 1 - NY 100-128821 (CP, USA, District #2, Factionalism)(12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP, USA, Line) 19
- 1 - NY 100-128815 (CP, USA, District #2, Negro Question)(12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-128813 (CP, USA, District #2, Pamphlets and Publications)
- 1 - NY 100-26603C42 (CP, USA, District #2, NY County) (12-8) (12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-128812 (CP, USA, District #2, Political Activities) (12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-128811 (CP, USA, District #2, Religion) (12-8)
- 1 - NY 100-52313 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-9308 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-45328 (DOROTHY BLUMBERG) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-120865 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-34464 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100- ( ) LNU (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-112059 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100- ( ) LNU (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-68478 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-9364 (JAMES FORD) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-86516 ( ) (12-16)
- 1 - NY 100-82206 ( )

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 b7c



JPH  
 JEH:cam  
 (22)

MEMO  
NY 100-26603

On 10/6/56, NY 1823-S\* furnished the following information regarding the Harlem Region CP conference:

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b7C

The conference convened at 11 a. m. and [ ] [ ] was elected chairman. The chairman stated that this conference was devoted to the question of the dissolution of the Party. She stated that the Regional Committee agreed on the need for a strong Marxist-Leninist Party in the U. S.

The chairman then announced that the speakers, limited to 10 minutes each, would discuss the Draft Resolution which had recently appeared in "The Worker."

According to NY 1823-S\*, there were 9 speakers in addition to the chairman, the last one concluding at 1:14 p. m., during the morning session. The comments of most of the speakers, as well as their identity, were inaudible to the source.

NY 1823-S\* believed the second speaker was [ ] [ ] This speaker was not in favor of fashioning the CP, USA, after the CP, USSR. He stated that the principles of Marxism-Leninism were not sacred. He also stated that in order to change the world, it may be necessary to change the organization in order to make progress. He also commented that the standard of living in the U. S. was the highest in the world.

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b7C

The following two speakers disagreed with the speaker believed to be [ ] One, a female, stated that the question was not will we or won't we have a CP, but what kind of a Party must we have.

One male speaker, believed by source to be PAUL ROBESON, Jr., also disagreed with the speaker believed to be [ ] In commenting on his opposition to [ ]'s views, he stated that the bureaucrats of yesterday made it impossible to express views. He added that he didn't trust them. This speaker phrased the question, "Who is the main enemy?," and then answered, "American imperialism and this government which represents imperialism."

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b7C

NY 100-26603

The following speaker, believed by source to be [redacted], mentioned spending 2½ years in West Virginia.

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b7C

The afternoon session began at 1:54 p. m. The first speaker at this afternoon session was believed to be [redacted]. This speaker expressed the opinion that there was no reason why every CP member should not belong to a church.

According to the source, [redacted] made a brief collection speech, stating that the consensus of opinion of those present was that the Party must be saved and that because of this feeling a unity of purpose was present at the conference.

b6  
b7C

One speaker, believed to be the chairman, expressed the view that she would like to see the National Headquarters of the Party moved to one of the industrial centers of the mid-west.

This speaker then made an announcement that the latter part of next month (November) an election of officers for Harlem Region would be held.

A committee was formed to draft a resolution which would summarize the consensus of thinking at the conference, including the views of those who disagree with the consensus. Those elected to this committee were:

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] (LNU)  
[redacted]  
[redacted] (LNU)

b6  
b7C

Source believed [redacted] was definitely against any such resolution, and in announcing the vote on it, the chairman announced that there were three opposed.

MEMO  
NY 100-26603

Source advised that an individual believed to be BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr., spoke from 4:25 p. m. to 4:53 p. m. According to the source, this speaker appeared to set forth the Party program for the Harlem Region CP.

This speaker stated that the CP must take its place along with the Labor movement to defeat the EISENHOWER Administration. He announced that the objective was to get the Negroes of Harlem to register to vote, and that EISENHOWER's recent statement that he wanted citizens to register, no matter how they voted, should be used by the Party with EISENHOWER's name as the source.

The speaker then announced that the Negro church, not the NAACP, was the basic organization of the Negro people. He stated that Communists must renew church ties and get into the churches.

He then advised that the Party in Harlem should offer its services to the NAACP in getting people to register, and that members should be sent to both Democratic and Republican headquarters to offer to assist them in the registration campaign.

The speaker stated that the National CP was critical of both STEVENSON and EISENHOWER, and was endorsing neither one. It was the responsibility of the CP, he said, to get together the biggest coalition of Negro people.

In explaining the Party position on the election, the speaker stated that the Democratic party represented the poor man, and that the Party must identify itself with REUTHER, the Labor movement, and the working people, thus, without saying how the Party stands, show, by this identification, how it stands. He stated that if the Party could get 75-85% of the vote in Harlem among the Negroes and the workers for the Democratic candidate, this block of votes would be a factor with which either elected candidate would have to reckon.

MEMO  
NY 100-26603

The speaker urged mass distribution of leaflets urging the people of Harlem to register. He also urged the holding of public rallies in Harlem to stir enthusiasm. He stated he wanted to hold a rally Friday, 10/12/56, at 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, and that he would be a speaker. At the conclusion of this speech there was loud applause.

After this speech the speaker asked [redacted] if he were in charge of getting out the leaflets. LOU answered that he was. In answer to a question, the speaker stated that some of our comrades were pretty well entrenched in Democratic Clubs.

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The chairman adjourned the meeting at 5:09 p. m. with the announcement that there would be a meeting at Bermuda Hall on Tuesday evening, 10/9/56.

At the time of the recess for lunch the following individuals were observed leaving Bermuda Hall by SA JAMES E. HASTINGS:

[redacted]  
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS  
PAUL ROBESON, Jr.  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

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In addition, from first names heard by source, the following individuals were believed in attendance at this conference:

JAMES FORD  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

SAC, NEW YORK (100-62906)

10/30/56

SA [redacted] (#7-3)

[redacted]

SM-C

RECEIVED  
OCT 31 1956

Informant:	[redacted]
Reliability:	Who has furnished reliable information in the past
Date of Activity:	10/3/56
Date Furnished:	10/5/56
Agent:	[redacted]
Location:	[redacted] Attachment

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b7D

The informant furnished an oral report on 10/5/56, which report was reduced to writing, read, and signed by the informant on 10/18/56.

On 10/3/56, I visited [redacted] but he did not mention anything more about his trip to Cuba.

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[redacted] stated that the CP Central Committee has approved the new proposal to modify the CP line. Those who were against the proposal, according to [redacted], say that its approval means the end of the Party.

"There was a Negro man who visited the store while I was there. I do not know his name but from the way he spoke, I would assume he was a CP member.

"This Negro stated that Negroes within the Party are against the proposal to change the CP line, and think that its passage means that the CP can no longer help the Negro in his fight against segregation. This individual added that the Negroes in the CP want to form their own party, and have a national movement among American Negroes."

- 1 - [redacted] (P & C) (7-3)
- 1 - NY 100-4931 (CP, USA) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-95583 (CP Line) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (Negro Question) (19)
- 1 - NY 100-26603-C-42) (19)

b6  
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b7D

WJL:ch  
(6)

001 31 3 05 56.22

100-95583-348

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED

OK

[redacted]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM \*\*\* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: October 15, 1956

FROM: SAC, Detroit (100-2050)

SUBJECT: CP, USA ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Chicago letter to Director, 6/29/56, captioned  
"CP, USA ORGANIZATION; IS-C."

Extreme care should be used in handling and reporting  
the following information in order to protect the identity of the  
Informant.

Copies:

- 2 - Bureau (Registered)
- 2 - Albany (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 4 - Buffalo (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Strategy in Industry)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil, USWA)
- 5 - Chicago (Registered)
  - (1 - 100-18953) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 134-46)
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-19841) (MAX WEISS)
  - (1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE MACK LIGHTFOOT)
- 2 - Cincinnati (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Cleveland (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)

PMH:JLK  
(70)

*100 - (CP Line)*

100-95583-349

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

*Am*



DE 100-2050

copies (con't.)

37 - New York (Registered)

- (1 - 100-80641) (CP - Organization) (#19)
- (1 - 100-74560) (CP- Fund) (#19)
- (1 - 100-80640) (CP - Negro Question) (#19)
- (1 - 100-81338) (CP - Security Measures) (#19)
- (1 - 100-81675) (CP - Pamphlets & Publications) (#19)
- (1 - 100-79717) (CP - Political Activities) (#19)
- (1 - 100-89691) (CP - Domestic Administration Issues) (#19)
- (1 - 100-86624) (CP - International Relations) (#19)
- (1 - 100-89590) (CP - Strategy in Industry) (#19)
- (1 - 100-80638) (CP - Membership) (#19)
- (1 - 100-26603) (CP - District #2)
- (1 - 97-169 (Publishers New Press)
- (1 - 100- (Cominfil, ILWU)
- (1 - 100-84935) (Cominfil, Railroad Industry)
- (1 - 100- (Cominfil, NAACP)
- (1 - 100- (Cominfil, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America)
- (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
- (1 - 100-9984) (AL BLUMBERG)
- (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
- (1 - 100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS)
- (1 - 100-110840) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-89816) (FRED FINE)
- (1 - 100-19723) (JOHN GATES)
- (1 - 100-50983) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-64755) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-28609) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-9573) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
- (1 - 100-50090) (SID STEIN)
- (1 - 100-66211) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-20649) (ED STRONG)
- (1 - 100-23290) [REDACTED]
- (1 - 100-18672) (MAX WEISS)
- (1 - 100-54899) (LEON WOFSY)
- (1 - 100-81752) (CP - Brief)
- (1 - 100- ) (CP - Line)

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DE 100-2050

Copies (con't.)

- 3 - Philadelphia (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-7800) (ED STRONG)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
- 5 - San Francisco (Registered)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Organization)
  - (1 - 100- ) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100- ) (Cominfil. ILWU)
  - (1 - 100- )
  - (1 - 100- ) (WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN)
- 4 - Detroit
  - (1 - 100-16906) (CP - Membership)
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
  - (1 - 100-13420-Sub-1A)

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Above referenced letter contained information concerning the proceedings on June 24, 1956 at a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA which was held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City.

Information in referenced letter was furnished by CG 5824-S\*.

CSDE 606-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 28, 1956, that CARL WINTER, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA had in his possession material pertaining to the CP. Contained in this material was a notebook bearing handwritten notes which obviously pertain to meetings of the National Committee of the CP, USA held at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City from June 22, through 24, 1956, and the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the National Committee, CP, USA on June 26, 1956 in New York City.

DE 100-2050

Inasmuch as the information furnished by CSDE 606-S\* confirms and may in some instances add to the information furnished by CG 5824-S\*, the Detroit Office is furnishing the text of the notes pertaining to the meeting on June 24, 1956, to the appropriate offices.

The notes are written in outline form and abbreviations are used extensively. In most instances the text of the notes is quite clear. However, the Detroit Office is substituting complete words for the abbreviations and where necessary a minimum of words to make the meaning of the notes clear.

Following is the text of the notes:

Report on Organization by  
 Organizational  
Secretary of the New York  
CP District

b6  
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American conditions have changed favorably in the last six years - but our isolation continues. This is the nature of our crisis.

Constant changes in leadership and lack of coordination in shop and industrial work aggravate the situation.

New York Registration:

Lost 2/3 of membership in last 10 years (30% in 1946)  
(19% in 1950)  
( 9% in 1956)

Registration 88% - 92% in industry.

1/3 in industry  
30 - 35% attend  
20 - 25% active  
2/3 over 40 years of age  
85% dues in 1955  
62% in 5 months of 1956.

DE 100-2050

Lost members remain friendly in the main and have found own areas of activity.

Causes of loss in membership:

Left Sectarian policies resulted in shop and union expulsion.

Drops for security.

Negro losses due to Left Sectarianism leading to isolation from Negro masses and their organizations. (White Chauvinism a minor reason).

1/3 of Community members are in mass movements and organizations.

Contributed to campaigns for city transportation; Negro-White unity; recognition to NAA and Trade Unions; CD camps; re Isreal.

Industrial members are more active in Trade Union Commissions.

Experience is training new skilled cadres.

The main emphasis in industrial work is not on concentration from the outside, or shop papers, but workers.

Aided by colonization and renewed membership of old timers who remained in industry.

Longshoremens 35; Teamsters 30; Railroad Workers 70; Steel 34;

Resistance of membership due to lack of confidence in policies;

Exaggerated objectives set;

Burdensome financial demands (Fund Drive 50%)

Proposed 16 to 29 district full timers.

3/4 of the Party's funds goes to Administration, the "Daily Worker" and Defense.

After the convention consideration should be given to a national weekly; no "Daily Worker" until made possible to sustain.

Structure:

Leading policy bodies are primarily of full timers excluding many who are closest to the masses. We should decentralize and emphasize local bodies. Industrial policy to be made in lower organizations.

We attempted to transplant "What is to be done" on organizational forms and monolithic structure. (Monolith is not democratic).

We need major rule together with the fullest airing of differences.

Live by Party constitution.

Practically speaking the Party is illegal. All community clubs in Buffalo are functional and members cannot identify themselves as Communists.

Upstate, wives of workers fired from jobs were expelled from NAA. As a result 75 members in an industry had no possible contact despite five years of employment.

There is a need to find a legal mass form of expression of Socialist nature.

An independent stand of the CP, USA from the CPSU is needed.

Breakdown of Membership:

Total: 16,500 ~~-----~~ 78% dues.

NY 9M	61%
Ill. 9C	44%
Ohio 6	28%
Eastern Pa. 4 1/2	16%
NJ 7 1/3	22%
Calif. 3M	11% (incomplete)

Michigan had 300 members in 1955, and 251 in 1956. 26% dues have been collected.

DE 100-2050

From 1952 to 1956 the Michigan membership dropped from 600 members.  
(An explanation of the above figures is contained in referenced letter).

Remarks of

b6  
b7c

Nationally<sup>''</sup>: There is a sharp decline in shop and industrial membership.  
The leadership is compelled to work with individuals instead of clubs.  
1/3 hold trade union posts - most of them below shop level.  
Disproportionate Party demands made upon shop membership.  
(This can only move what we have in contacts; not in the "Labor Movement.")  
Ex-members are largely friendly  
(left due to fear; excessive Party standards; legality; and differences).  
Need to develop legal forms for exchange of political opinions.  
Communists trend to work as "progressive" caucuses in trade unions.

Organizational Question:

Should shop form of organization be primary?  
Philadelphia abolished Industrial Division - New York just formed it.  
General role of trade unionists in community civic organizations.

Main Industrial Issues:

Speed up and shop conditions.  
Job security and results of unemployment.  
Forms of wage payment and incentives  
Political action  
Negro rights and association with the NAA

DE 100-2050

Negative Features:

Most locals fail to consider foreign policy questions.  
A gap is growing between white and Negro workers.

Remarks of GENE DENNIS on "Daily Worker"  
Article

)  
It was 90% correct, especially the first part,  
but was inadequate particularly on question of  
relations between CPs.

Should also have stressed positive contributions of  
"Daily Worker" in developing discussion.

In capacity of general secretary should have consulted  
with the Administrative Committee before issuing a  
criticism of the "Daily Worker" editorials.

On Organizational Question

The future of the "Daily Worker" must be settled.  
A new party of socialism is needed; but  
when conditions mature. We have an important role  
to play in this development.

Consider at Convention - (three words illegible).

Change Party structure, program, name,  
Will help developments to a new Party.

DE 100-2050

Continue concern for security - especially in industry.  
Raise the level of the struggle vs. left sectarianism.  
The struggle vs. dogmatism requires convincing  
membership who change views at various rates.

Remarks of [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
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The National Committee made progress in this meeting.  
We still need to credit the New York District  
leadership with excellent work in the last four  
years.

The Party is still in a crisis. Not just a critical  
situation.

There has been a 70% loss of Party membership  
since 1945, and an even greater loss among the  
Negroes.

We are still drifting on work policies.  
There is a lack of confidence in the leadership.  
I doubt that we can overcome bureaucracy.

We borrowed and built into the Party structure  
the structure of Bolshevik bureaucracy.  
We need to change type of organization to  
correspond to Party that seeks peaceful  
transition to Socialism.

There should be a change of structure and  
a change of name.

Remarks of WILLIAM  
SCHNEIDERMAN

The problems of organization are general throughout  
the country.  
The National Committee must take hand in discussions  
if not to be forced to adopt wrong popular  
conclusions.



DE 100-2050

Membership questions whether the Party, especially leaders, can change.

Question of "military discipline" and seek elaboration of "right of dissent."

California Discussions.

Direct representation to county level.

Delegated bodies to be politically responsible and leaders accountable to them.

Abolish cooptation.

Regular commissions and conferences.

Bill of Rights for membership in Constitution including non-conformity in action.

No expulsions except for acts against the Party and the working class.

Guarantee automatic appeal.

Recall of leaders.

Referendum on major policies.

Restore some features of the 1938 constitution.

Inform the membership of different points of view in the leadership.

Practice frequent review of experience with policies.

Simplify club agendas, to be decided by club, and include Good and Welfare.

Make it obligatory leadership listen to proposals.

Nominations for top leadership to begin during discussion periods - to learn who candidates are and their record.

We should start now with necessary organizational changes to institute democratic practices.

Delegated bodies.

Start discussions in search for leadership.

Inform the Party that constitutional commission wants proposals.

DE 100-2050

Non-Party Views:

Dissolve the Party.

Later help form new Marxist Party.

Question of Trade Union association of pro-socialist workers.

The California District is not for the present dissolution of industrial clubs.

Does this create faction attitude and isolate membership in Trade Unions?

Can they bring socialist ideology to workers?

Professional revolutionary vulgarized equals fulltimer.

Remarks of

b6  
b7C

A crisis exists in the Party.

Bureaucracy has been a fact since Party's inception.

It was built into principles of Party organization.

We should preserve shop and industrial clubs.

Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

The organization situation corresponds to the political situation and practices.

We must change the Party's organization structure in line with the kind of Socialist Party we envision in the future.

Comments of ED STRONG

We need a more basic analysis.

What is real status of Party organization? Crisis?

What is origin of bureaucracy in the Party?

Can a blueprint answer organizational structure?

DE 100-2050

Remarks of JOHN GATES

The self-critical remarks of GENE DENNIS are beneficial. The CP is not through; has many assets, but must change character to survive in new conditions. How can we have democracy in the Party when the Party is illegal? We must struggle for democracy in America, but there is a need to start to end our own illegality by organization changes. (Name; structure; delete Marxist-Leninism from constitution; and democratic centralism concept).

Some unionists want a socialist organization of their own.

Role of people like [redacted]  
Should canvass possibilities  
interest in work around Labors' Daily.  
We must not end the "Daily Worker" before the convention, if at all, due to danger of present disintegration tendencies.

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Remarks of [redacted]

We need an analysis of our role re Trade Unions, especially organization relations.  
(review "resent and reject" CIO res.)  
Shop clubs will continue but need to change content of work to include community.

Political leadership need not be fulltimers.  
(should employ service workers if needed).  
Organizational controls required.  
Decisions should be binding.  
Changes in policy should not be made except by convention.  
Organizations at lower levels should be enabled to initiate proposals.

DE 100-2050

We need to strengthen explanations on National Committee stands.

Exaggeration of war danger.

Concept of peaceful transition and new Party.

Remarks of MAX WEISS

Crisis in the Party means irreconcilable trends.

Example: Crisis re Tito in world movement.

China and other CPs were moving in the same direction as Tito and would continue.

We don't have such a situation in our Party with Left Sectarian trends or any others.

The difference between social democracy and CPs is based on difference between eras of II International and III International.

A new era now requires new type of Party.

Mass Party of Socialism in the United States requires uniting Socialism with the Labor Movement;

Meanwhile, the CP needs to develop its own program.

New developments beyond Marxism-Leninism are necessities on basis of a new era.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS, JR.

The report should have given more attention to the problems of the Negro cadre and membership.

Concluding Remarks of

b6  
b7C

We have been in a crisis for the last five years. Attempted to break out with the 1952 resolution and 1954 program, and, GENE DENNIS' report vs. left sectarianism.

DE 100-2050

Now, the turn is stimulated by recognition of  
need for independent Marxist Party.

This is a new feature of the struggle  
vs. Left Sectarianism.

Photographic copies of the above-quoted notes are located in Detroit  
file 100-13420-1B11.



NY 100-2000-100

That tentatively, at least the number of delegates should be based on the estimated strength of the sections and that the ratio of delegates to the county convention should be one delegate for each ten section members, whereas, the ratio of delegates to the state convention should be one delegate for each twenty members.

That, inasmuch as the time and costs of the national convention had not yet been determined, no proposals had been made, but that an effort would be made to have one delegate to the national convention from each section even though they might only to elect a delegation of one vote each rather than one full vote each.

That an attachment of two dollars would be levied against all dues paying members in order to defray the cost of the national convention which would be substantial (to be determined).

In addition, mentioned mentioned that the NY State Board had invited the chairmen to the national convention from 1911, 1912, and a few other places to observe the NY State Convention.

CHAS. BROWN, Chairman, Hempstead County Co, added that they, (NY State Co), were awaiting for the largest possible convention and delegates and that in terms of generally convention, they (NY State Co), would like to have part of the total number of the delegates at the (national) convention.

THAT